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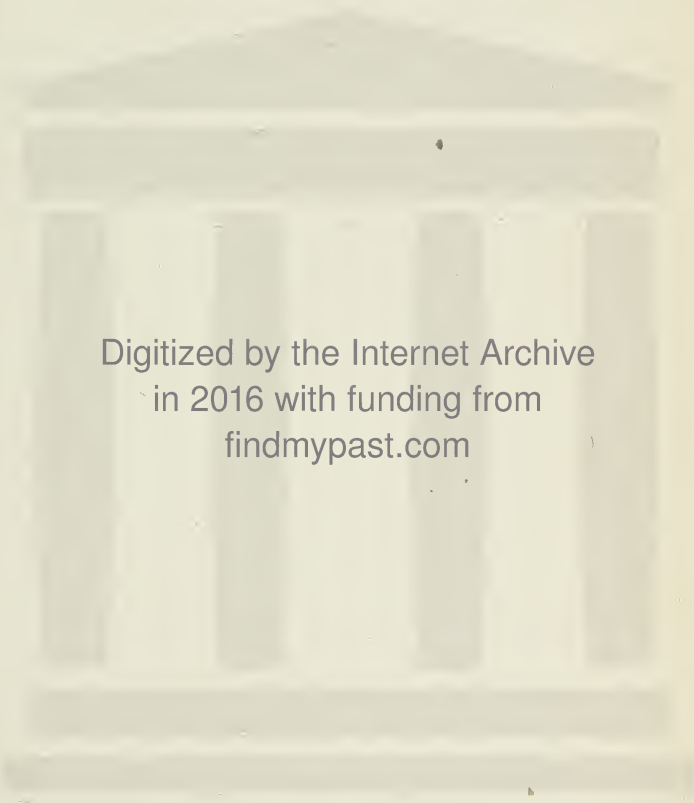
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# ILLINOIS HIGHWAYS, 1700-1848

## Roads, Rivers, Ferries, Canals

*By* JOSEPHINE BOYLAN

**A** STUDY of the routes that have traversed the Illinois country in the course of its history leads to two definite conclusions.

The first is that the State of Illinois has one of the oldest and most consistently developed road systems in the United States: a system which has grown synchronously with the growth of the political structure, and whose still-continuing expansion is the most substantial link holding together a diversified commonwealth; a system which has begun and continued as a practical unit, although always aided by the encouragement of local enterprise.

The second conclusion is that the highways and waterways of Illinois are interdependent to an unusual degree. Each increased in early years and still increases the value of the other.

The chronological dividing line between "trails" and "roads" is very hard to fix definitely in Illinois. The southern part of the state had a well-organized road system when the northern part had scarcely been touched by white feet. As a mere matter of convenience, I have selected 1848, the date of the second state constitution, as the terminal point of this survey. Also as a matter of convenience, I have prefaced the original portion of the work with a sketch of the earlier history of the region, covering matter which is generally familiar to historical students.

## II

The first recorded tour of Illinois by white men was made by an almost all-water route.

Father Jacques Marquette and Louis Jolliet, traveling from St. Ignace at the head of Lake Michigan, crossed the present state of Wisconsin from Green Bay to the Mississippi River in the summer of 1673. They traveled down the Mississippi by pirogue, skirting the western shore of Illinois.

After they had passed the mouth of the Ohio River, they continued southward toward the mouth of the Mississippi until they became convinced that the river flowed into the Gulf of Mexico rather than into the Pacific Ocean, and that it was useless to make further explorations in the hope of finding a route to Asia.

They returned to St. Ignace by a different route, of which they had heard from the Illinois Indians. They ascended the Mississippi to the mouth of the Illinois River, then followed the Illinois to the Desplaines, and ascended that source to the Chicago portage.

Jolliet commented in his report to the authorities at Quebec on the surprise he felt at his first sight of the prairies along the Illinois River. He had heard of a treeless country and pictured it as a barren desolate plain; he found instead long stretches of grass and flowers, which were pleasant to the eye and gave promise of future fertility under cultivation.

Father Marquette found the first fruits of his mission of grace to the Illinois in the village of the Kaskaskias on the Illinois River. The tribe which centered there seemed eager to embrace Christianity and Father Marquette promised to return to them later. He and his companions crossed



from the Desplaines by way of the short portage to the Chicago River, and descended that stream to Lake Michigan.

True to his word, Father Marquette later returned by the same route, and founded the mission of the Immaculate Conception of the Kaskaskias; he started back to the north, and died on his way.

For the next century, missionaries and traders followed the route mapped out by Marquette and Jolliet. The Illinois River was the highway from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi, from north to south. Father Marquette's beloved Kaskaskias followed it when they removed their village to the Mississippi in 1700.

The village of Kaskaskia in the second period of its existence was located on a low peninsula between the Mississippi River and the mouth of the Kaskaskia River (now usually called the "Okaw").

The settlement about the Mission of the Immaculate Conception became a prosperous town, where French settlers gathered. Other villages were established nearby, lying like a string of beads on the black-velvet soil of the Mississippi Bottom. The farthest village to the north was Cahokia, where a mission was established in 1699. Between the two were located Prairie du Rocher, at the foot of the bluff, and Fort Chartres or St. Philip, the most strongly fortified post in the West, which overlooked the Mississippi.

The villages were built in one of the most attractive and at the same time one of the most dangerous stretches of country in the world. The Bottom is a strip of alluvial land eighty miles long and six miles wide, backed by the bluffs and fronting on the Mississippi, which was a most treacherous neighbor.

It was a tract equally subject to the ravages of hostile tribes from above, and to the slow seeping of the river from

below. Yet the villages there continued to endure in a pleasant existence, passing from the rule of France to that of Great Britain by the Treaty of 1763.

This precariously peaceful life was turned into a new channel in the year 1778 through the efforts of one of the most dynamic men in American history.

It must be understood that the Illinois country was British territory, whereas Kentucky, south of the Ohio River, was definitely allied with the Thirteen Colonies through its origin. When the American Revolution began, the British territory was overrun with Indian tribes allied to the Crown, who constituted a grave menace to the safety of the Kentuckians and to the actual success of the Continental Army under Washington in the East.

One man—George Rogers Clark—understood the situation and undertook to deal with it. The Governor of Virginia gave him no more than permission to take a gambler's chance, by commissioning him a Colonel of Militia and sending him on his way.

Clark gathered troops together and started from the Falls of the Ohio (Louisville, Ky.) to capture Kaskaskia.

The obvious route to have taken was by water around the junction of the Ohio, and up the Mississippi, to the village of Kaskaskia. Clark, however, who was a remarkable military tactician, decided to attack the village from behind. He left his boats at an abandoned French post on the Ohio river called Fort Massac (Metropolis, Ill.). He encountered there American traders who offered to guide him to Kaskaskia.

The route which Clark took was not of the best-marked trails across the Illinois country. Even the men who were guiding him were at one time puzzled as to the exact course. Their bewilderment made Clark suspicious of their loyalty,

and he gave them two hours to find the right trail on penalty of death. Just in time to save their lives, they hit upon the trace and convinced Clark that they had been honestly in doubt.

Modern historians cannot conclusively determine Clark's line of march from Fort Massac to Kaskaskia. It is probable indeed that it was not one of the regular, well-worn trails which were later platted as state roads; at least it is not mentioned as such in the records of the County Surveyor of Randolph County, in which Kaskaskia is located.

It is likely enough that Clark would take an unfrequented path across the country, for his whole plan of campaign was founded on a calculated intention to surprise his opponents. It is certain that he went north, then northwest, from Fort Massac.

Congressman Edward E. Dennison of Marion, Illinois, tells of having heard in his boyhood that the path through the apple orchard back of his home was "the road that Clark took." It is probably true that he traversed Williamson County.

Coming from the southeast, Clark made his way through the bluffs to the ruined Fort Kaskaskia which overlooked the village. One of the unpaved roads through the bluffs is marked at its junction with Illinois State Bond Issue Route Three, about two miles from the fort, as the road that Clark took. When he reached the edge of the bluff, he climbed down its face under cover of night.

There is a difficult but passable footpath from the old fort to the water's edge, which cannot have changed much in 150 years.

It must be remembered—for it is no longer true—that in Clark's time the Kaskaskia River ran between the village and the foot of the bluff. The town was located on a neck of

land between the Kaskaskia and the Mississippi rivers. The Kaskaskia River has since cut its way into the main stream several miles above its original mouth. The tongue of the old peninsula is the present Kaskaskia Island, while the main part of the old town lies at the bottom of the Mississippi River.

Clark crossed the Kaskaskia River and entered the town so quietly that he was in possession immediately.

The next day he sent his subordinate, Joseph Bowman, to Cahokia. Bowman followed the Kaskaskia-Cahokia trail through the Bottom by way of Prairie du Rocher, which is probably the oldest land highway in Illinois. Clark later went to Cahokia himself, and held an important Indian conference there.

The capture of Kaskaskia occurred on July 4, 1778. Shortly afterward, several French gentlemen including the pastor, Father Gibault, who were well-disposed toward the American cause, went to Vincennes—across the state on the east bank of the Wabash—and secured the peaceful submission of that post.

The British commander, General Hamilton, was in Detroit at the time. He hurried back and retook possession at Vincennes, planning to lead an expedition thence against Clark at Kaskaskia the following spring. Clark learned of his intentions and forestalled them. With a scanty regiment—barely in fact a company—of Kentuckians and French volunteers, he marched across southern Illinois in the February thaw.

There was a well-defined trail leading from very early times northeast from Kaskaskia to Vincennes. It could still be seen thirty years ago where it passed over uncultivated lands, but it was never traveled as a road and was then known as to its location only to the older citizens.

At the time of Clark's expedition, overland communication between the two villages was fairly common. The alternative water route down the Mississippi to the mouth of the Ohio, up the Ohio to the mouth of the Wabash and up that river to Vincennes, was quite long. Clark divided his forces and sent a detachment by boat with guns and stores, while the main body—small enough—marched overland.

To call the route from Kaskaskia to Vincennes "overland" is indeed hardly accurate. Southern Illinois is half-hill and half-swamp. For most of the trip the men marched over ground that was several inches under water. As they approached Vincennes, they were forced to cross the Little Wabash and the Embarras rivers, both swollen out of their banks by an early thaw. They finally reached the eastern bank of the Wabash, crossed it, took the town—and saved the American cause.

After the taking of Vincennes, Clark made an earnest effort to conserve his gains. He sent Major Godefroy de Linctot, a French officer from Cahokia, up the Illinois River with a force of volunteers to attack the Wea Towns, and return to Vincennes from the north. De Linctot succeeded in frightening away the Indians attached to the British post of St. Joseph around the bend of Lake Michigan. It is possible that an immediate pursuit of this achievement would have resulted in the capture of Detroit, but Clark—who was of course on the ground and familiar with the situation as we can not be—considered it too dangerous a project.

However, Clark had done enough. He had saved his country; and he had blazed a trail of courage and steadfastness that no cultivation or bewilderment or overflow of waters can obliterate.



### III

The territory which George Rogers Clark had conquered was confirmed to the United States by the treaty of peace at the close of the American Revolution. In 1787 it was organized under the name of the Northwest Territory.

"The navigable waters leading into the Mississippi and St. Lawrence, and the carrying places between the same shall be common highways as well to the inhabitants of the said territory as to the citizens of the United States and those of any other states that may be admitted into the confederacy, without any tax, impost, or duty therefor."

So says the Northwest Ordinance, thereby establishing the land-trails as public highways, chiefly because they were connecting links between rivers.

The territorial legislature enacted the first Public Road Act on August 1, 1792. It was revised by the legislature of 1799, and periodically thereafter by legislatures of the territory of Indiana, the territory of Illinois, and the State of Illinois as they were successively created.

The Act of 1792 provided that twelve householders of any county might sign a petition to the Court of General Quarter Sessions, praying the court to order a public highway laid out through their part of the county. A surveyor was then to be appointed, who should go out with two other reputable citizens called "viewers" to mark the course of the road, blazing trees or erecting monuments where there were no trees. They were then to report to the next session of the court.

If no sufficient objections were brought, the report was to be entered of record on the last day of the term. The supervisor of highways for the township concerned should be then directed to open up the highway. In case of objections a "review" was to be made.

Supervisors were to be appointed to lay out highways and keep them in proper repair, who should have the right to call on the citizens of the township for road work to the extent of ten days a year.

The Act of 1799 made provision that highways should not exceed sixty-six feet in width and cartroads thirty-three feet. A person might change the course of a road where it crossed his own land, so long as he removed it to ground as good as that which it formerly traversed.

Twelve freeholders might petition to vacate a road, and have the petition granted by the court. The court had no authority, however, to vacate any street or highway in any city, borough, town or village, which had been laid out by the late proprietors and dedicated to public use, nor to vacate any road or passage which led to rivers or streams of water. Advertisements of proposed roads were to be posted on the courthouse door.

At this time there were two counties in the present limits of the State of Illinois: St. Clair County, with Cahokia as its county seat, which was established in 1790; and Randolph County, with Kaskaskia as its county seat, which was cut off from St. Clair in 1795. Eleven other counties were established during the territorial period, all in the extreme southern part of Illinois: Bond, Crawford, Franklin, Jackson, Monroe, Madison, Johnson, Pope, Union, Washington, and White.

The early roads laid out in St. Clair, the "Mother of Counties," are recorded in the numbered record books of the county court beginning in 1798.

In Book I, the first entry dealing with roads is dated at the November term of 1806. It seems to have concerned a road considerably north of the present county line, "from Juda's Bridge to Kirkpatrick's Mill." Three years later an-



other road was laid out from Kirkpatrick's Mill to Squire's ferry between the Illinois shore and Portage des Sioux. This place was near the mouth of the Illinois River, but on the western bank of the Mississippi.

The petition was brought by the settlers along Wood River, a small stream which empties into the Mississippi from the east somewhat above St. Louis. Meriwether Lewis and William Clark (George Rogers Clark's brother) encamped on its banks during the winter of 1803-1804 while they were waiting for the Louisiana Territory to be transferred to the United States so that they might make their great exploration to the sources of the Missouri River, and down the Columbia River to the Pacific Ocean.

In the meantime, the United States Government had, in surveying the Illinois country, laid off several roads under the constitutional provision giving Congress authority to "establish post-roads." One of these was the road that led from Shawneetown near the junction of the Ohio River and the Wabash River northwestward, and divided with one branch going to Kaskaskia, the other to the St. Louis ferry. This was called the "Saline Road" because it led across the salt springs just west of Shawneetown on Saline Creek.

One of the earliest roads laid out in St. Clair County was to lead from certain ferries on the Mississippi to intersect this road. The early routes are marked out chiefly by the names of the settlers along the way. This road was to intersect the Saline road "as far or as near Jacob Gregg's as may be thought proper."

In 1811 there were seventeen road districts in St. Clair County, one of which apparently covered a road that later became a small part of the Great Western Mail Route: "from William Scott, Jr.'s to the Looking Glass Prairie." This Looking Glass Prairie is a broad, flat, somewhat circu-

lar plain, just east of Lebanon, which looks like a mirror when the sunlight reflects the dewdrops on its grass. Charles Dickens viewed and admired it on his visit to the United States.

In the same year 1811 the Kaskaskia-Cahokia road was definitely surveyed and platted. The plat is on file with the county clerk of Randolph County. The road crossed the "Grand Line of the Kaskaskia Commons" about three-fourths of a mile from the village, where it was marked by an ancient cedar post that had stood there long before the Americans came to the Mississippi Bottom. It was called "the Cahokia Gate Post."

The road led thence along the river, then northwest up and along the bluffs past Prairie du Rocher, thence to Harrisonville and Cahokia. The lower part of the road near Kaskaskia is at the bottom of the Mississippi River, having crumbled with the village. The upper part is still open, but it is no longer the chief highway between the two places. The present state route runs in safety along the top of the bluffs.

The strip of land between the bluffs and the river acquired the name of the "American Bottoms," by which it is still known, in the period from 1778 to 1804 when it was the western border of the new republic. In the interest of safety and convenience the county seat of St. Clair County was removed to Belleville, eight miles into the bluffs, in 1814.

What later became one of the most important roads of St. Clair County began inauspiciously in November, 1816, when the viewers reported, "On an order of last term to view the road from Belleville to St. Louis, we do report that the surveyor not finding himself authorized to act in such capacity, therefore refused to go and thereupon the said road

having been before viewed and reported, we therefore have to report that we cannot make return according to the order of this court."

About the same time, the three routes from Kaskaskia to Belleville became established. The first passed through the settlements of Walsh, Preston and Baldwin, and crossed the Kaskaskia River at New Athens, and northward thence to Belleville. From Belleville it extended to the foot of the bluffs, where it joined the Great Western Mail Route from Vincennes to St. Louis. This road was served by a stage coach line until about 1843. It is still partly a state highway (State Bond Issue Route 13 from New Athens to Belleville).

The second route—now partly in the Mississippi River—was built on the west bank of the Kaskaskia, between that tributary and the Mississippi. It is quite out of use as a road. The third route also started with the Kaskaskia-Cahokia road, ran nearly to Prairie du Rocher, thence striking to the bluff to Ruma, Red Bud, Hecker, and Georgetown. This road is still in use. (Parts of it are included in State Bond Issue Routes 155 and 159.)

The records of the various minor roads laid out by authority of the county courts are too detailed to be of interest to an outside reader. They filled in, bit by bit, the details of the main highways and provided the convenient cross-roads which were of great importance to those who lived along them. Many of these roads have not been seriously altered since.

#### IV

The State of Illinois was admitted to the Union on December 3, 1818. Its first General Assembly declared,

All roads in the several counties of this State which have been laid out as public roads in conformity to the provisions of an Act of the Legislature of the Territory of Illinois, of September, 1807, shall be and the same are hereby declared to be public roads and highways.

At this time there were in the state several roads laid out by the United States, together with numerous short roads located by the counties under territorial regulations.

The first General Assembly, meeting at Kaskaskia in 1819, ordered two new roads laid out by the appropriate county commissioners. One was to lead from Golconda by way of Brownsville to Kaskaskia. The other road was to be laid out from the Town of Illinois, as the settlement at the St. Louis ferry was then called, to the Six-Mile Prairie over the Madison County line, which should be one hundred feet wide.

The Cumberland Road or National Road, which is part of the transcontinental route now called the National Old Trails Road, was the subject of a resolution passed by the two houses of the General Assembly of 1819:

The Senators and Representatives in Congress from this State are requested at the next session thereof to use their exertions to procure the passage of a law authorizing the appointment of commissioners to view and mark out a road as the continuation of the National Road from Wheeling to the seat of government for the State of Ohio (Columbus) thence to the seat of government for the State of Indiana (Indianapolis) thence to the seat of government for this state, and thence to St. Charles on the Missouri river, the nearest route and best ground that can be selected, and that they also be requested to use their exertions to procure the passage of a law authorizing a survey of the public lands through which the same may pass and to appropriate the proceeds arising from the sale of such unappropriated section thereof through which it shall pass, to opening and improving the same.



## ILLINOIS HIGHWAYS, 1700-1848

The seat of government at the time this resolution was passed was at Kaskaskia, but it was removed in the same year to the newly-platted town of Vandalia on the upper waters of the Kaskaskia River, half-way between the Mississippi and the Wabash. The new town immediately became the radial point for the road system of Illinois.

The General Assembly of 1823 located eight roads leading to Vandalia, the most important of which was probably the Vandalia-Kaskaskia road, connecting the first and second capitals of the state. This road was surveyed and platted in 1824. It followed the Kaskaskia-Bellefonte road for a short distance, then turned northeast to cross the Little and Big Nine-Mile creeks and the Little and Big Plum creeks. The state records were transported along this same route before it became a state road. They were carried in an ox-cart at a total cost of about \$20.

The legislature of the same year undertook to declare the road from Vincennes to St. Louis a public highway. It would seem strange in a way that a road surveyed by the United States Government would need to be declared a public highway by the state, but it served a useful purpose to do so, for it laid upon the county commissioners the duty of keeping the road in repair under the same penalties as were imposed for neglect of other highways within their jurisdiction.

The next General Assembly appointed commissioners to "lay out, survey and permanently locate" this road. They fixed on a route from the state line at Vincennes via Lawrenceville, Evans', McCawley's, Maysville, Elliott's, Meisenhamer's, Lewis', Piles', Salem, Carlyle, Scott's Postoffice, Lebanon and Hathaway's to the bank of the Mississippi opposite St. Louis. (Illinois State Bond Issue Route 12.) Milestones or posts were to be erected along this route.

The stage coach followed this road for many years. The children who lived in Illinoistown in the 1840's liked to run after it down to the ferry landing. So did an ambitious parrot belonging to a lady of the settlement, which flew out of the window to perch on the driver's seat and ride triumphantly down to the levee.

This route across Illinois was adopted by the railroad which later became a part of the Baltimore and Ohio System. It is popularly said that the line drawn thus from St. Louis to Vincennes is the upper boundary of Southern Illinois or "Little Egypt" which includes all the counties "south of the B. and O."

The National Road route was adopted by the "Vandalia Railroad" now part of the Pennsylvania System. The Pennsylvania is still colloquially called "the Vandalia" in the St. Louis region.

The General Assembly of 1828 appropriated \$300 to improve the Vincennes-Carlyle road through Clay County—a stretch which must have needed improvement badly. Ninety-five years later, just before the hard road was completed on the Great Western Mail Route (Route 12), the stretch of road through Clay County was still so bad that an automobile could bog down in the mud for half a day.

The first roads were located in central Illinois in 1825, when Sangamon County had just been formed and Springfield was beginning to become a town of some importance. A road was located at this session from Springfield to the Illinois River, another from Springfield to Paris on the eastern border, and a third from Springfield to Quincy.

The state road law was revised with the provision among others that the viewers, "If they shall believe the road applied for to be necessary, shall proceed to locate the same on the nearest and best route, marking its course through prai-

ries and improved lands by fixing stakes in the ground and through timbered lands by marking the trees."

The first mention of Chicago in a road act appears in the statutes of 1831 when the various county roads connecting Vincennes with Chicago by way of Palestine, York, Paris and Danville were united into a permanent state road. (Illinois State Bond Issue Route One.)

Chicago at that time had just begun to come into prominence as the objective of settlers who came from New York and New England by way of the Erie Canal and the Great Lakes, and as the eastern terminus of the projected Illinois-Michigan Canal.

The 'session laws' of each General Assembly thereafter contain more than a hundred pages of road acts, establishing roads—some of breath-taking length, as the act of 1833 which laid out a highway from Illinoistown through Alton, Jacksonville and Macomb to Galena in the northwest corner of the state (Illinois State Bond Issue Route Three); some leading simply from one farm house to another.

The General Assembly scattered its favors lavishly but capriciously. Frequently a straight road across the state was not permanently established for many years, because only a dozen miles or so were located at any one session of the legislature.

It is to be suspected that in many cases the energy, diplomacy, and persuasive powers of the various members of the General Assembly had much to do with the establishment of roads in their respective districts. We may in this way possibly attribute to Abraham Lincoln the high degree of attention which central Illinois near Springfield secured in the late 1830's. It was certainly due to his efforts that the state capital was removed to Springfield in 1839. That city became the center of the highway system of Illinois.



The General Assembly seemed to grow weary of the details of road location in time, for in 1837 they declared:

The County Commissioners' Court of St. Clair county is hereby authorized to change the location of any state road in said county, provided that no change shall be made in the Great Western Route nor any change in any state road at the place where such road enters the county without the consent of the County Commissioners' Court of the adjoining county interested.

This of course was concerned chiefly with the roads leading to the St. Louis ferry, the southwestern outlet of the State of Illinois.

The center of the state's activities had gradually shifted, so that even in the 1830's the General Assembly could declare, with condescending pity for Little Egypt:

Whereas it is ascertained to the satisfaction of the General Assembly that at certain seasons of the year, a great number of the largest boats that navigate the Ohio and Mississippi rivers are compelled to remain at the mouth of the Ohio on account of the ice in the Mississippi and the low water in the Ohio, and,

Whereas, it is also true that the country in the southern part of the State is fast populating and improving and is as deserving of the favorable attention of the General Assembly as other sections of the State where stages are running,

Therefore, the said General Assembly do respectfully petition the Government of the United States to establish a mail route in the said State of Illinois, commencing at Carlyle, to Nashville, Pinckneyville, Brownsville, Jonesboro, and Unity, to the mouth of the Ohio river, and to have on the said route stages to run as frequently as the public good may require and to be drawn by two or four horses, as may be necessary, and the above-named improvements of mail facilities is not more than other sections of the State enjoy.

## ILLINOIS HIGHWAYS, 1700-1848

The road laws of the period from 1833 to 1848 are too voluminous to discuss in detail. In the Appendix,\* I have listed all the roads established by the General Assembly of Illinois between 1818 and 1848, omitting the numerous relocations and vacations, which in general caused a slight total variance in the route.

The highway system of Illinois developed slowly but firmly, as a tapestry is developed out of numerous threads, woven in and out, up and down. At the close of the first period of the statehood of Illinois, the general plan of its roads had been laid out and marked with blazes, so that it only remained for later generations to perfect the plans so carefully devised.

### V

The stress laid on water transportation is natural in a state which, like Illinois, is bordered by three large rivers and threaded with creeks and rivulets. At various times twenty-four streams have been declared navigable by the General Assembly of Illinois:

- Beaucoup River, to the shoal
- Big Bay Creek, to the St. Louis and Golconda road
- Big Muddy River, to the intersection of the east and west forks
- Big Vermilion River
- Bon Pas Creek
- Cache River, in Alexander and Pulaski counties
- Des Plaines River
- Embarrass River
- Fox River, to the Wisconsin line
- Illinois River
- Kankakee River
- Kaskaskia River
- Macoupin Creek, to the Carrollton and Alton road

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\*Please see pp. 43-57.

## JOSEPHINE BOYLAN

Piasa Creek, Jersey and Madison Counties  
Rock Creek  
Rock River  
Saline Creek  
Sangamon River to Champaign County  
Shoal Creek  
Snycarty Creek, Pike and Adams Counties  
Spoon River to Cameron's Mill  
Little Wabash River to north line of Clay County, later  
to the National Road  
Wabash River  
Skillet Fork to Ridgway's Mills.

Numerous companies were formed to improve the navigation of these various rivers. One of the earliest and most elaborate was the Little Wabash Navigation Company, chartered by the territorial legislature in 1817. The books were to be opened for subscription of stock on March 1, 1818.

Two thousand shares of stock were to be issued at \$5.00 per share. The company was given broad powers to condemn land for canals and toll stations. It was provided, however, that, "the waters or any part thereof, conveyed through any canal cut or made by the said company, shall not be used for any purpose other than navigation."

The act of incorporation provided that the work must begin within three years. The company was to be allowed to charge toll on boats ranging from \$1.00 for skiffs, canoes and pirogues, to \$5.00 for boats sixty feet long, plus one cent for each additional foot. It was provided, however, that, "no boat, pirogue or canoe, loaded with coal, lime, iron or other ore, or household furniture, shall pay more than one-half of the aforesaid prices."

The act of incorporation contained a provision, somewhat common in franchises of the time, for redemption by the state:

The said canals and the works erected thereon in furtherance of this Act, when completed, shall forever thereafter be esteemed and taken as a public highway, free for the transportation of all goods, commodities or produce whatever, upon payment of the toll imposed by this Act, provided, however, at the expiration of thirty years, it shall be the property of the State or Territory and shall be subject to such rules and regulations as the Legislature thereof may make and enter into and all right, title and interest of said company shall cease and be at an end, and shall be fully vested in the State or Territory aforesaid.

Similar companies were organized for other rivers of the state in the course of the next thirty years, but most of them seem to have found the work much greater than they had anticipated. The state government also spent money and effort on improving the navigation of the rivers within the State of Illinois and of the Wabash on the eastern boundary.

The Mississippi River, however, was outside the jurisdiction of the General Assembly; they could only modestly resolve as they did in 1843:

Whereas, it is the duty of all governments, and more especially of such as acknowledge the sovereignty of the people, to evidence all proper encouragement and protection to every department of human industry, and,

Whereas, a large proportion of the surplus products of the great west, and of the articles received in exchange, find their respective places of destination by way of the Mississippi River and its tributaries, and,

Whereas, it appears from the most accurate information which can be obtained upon the subject, that the value of the property loss during the last four years in its transportation on the waters of the west, exclusive of the loss of hundreds of valuable lives, has amounted to nearly one million dollars per annum, of which about one-half has been occasioned by snags, sawyers, or other obstructions in those waters, and that the number of wrecks sustained within the last eighteen months have

equalled one-fifth of the steamboats engaged in trade, and,

Whereas, this immense loss, sustained almost exclusively by people whose capital consists chiefly in persevering industry and their own enterprise, is calculated not only to keep down their energies but also to prevent them from reaping the numerous advantages held out to them by an exuberant soil, a healthful climate, and unequalled commercial facilities, and, therefore,

Be it Resolved, that our Senators in Congress be instructed and our Representatives requested, to use their best exertions to procure the passage of an Act providing for the removal of obstructions in the navigation of the western rivers, either by means of snag-boats or otherwise, as to the wisdom of Congress shall seem best calculated, to secure an object of the highest importance to the people of this and the other Western states and territories.

Another resolution of the same session recites in detail the misfortunes of steamboats plying the Mississippi River, particularly "between the mouth of the Ohio and Alton," while a third recommends the canalization of the Des Moines Rapids and of the Rock Rapids on the upper river.

Ferries were in operation on the rivers of Illinois long before they were regulated by the State. Clark ferried over from the foot of the bluff to Kaskaskia under cover of darkness in an established ferry.

The first name of Shawneetown was Lusk's ferry, and it is by that name that it is identified on the oldest plats of the Kaskaskia-Shawneetown trail.

Another ferry at Shawneetown was operated by one Ferguson. Apparently the ferry business was good at Shawneetown, for in 1815 the county court of Gallatin County applied to the legislature for authority to grant one more ferry there, since their own legal right to do so was in doubt. The



authority was granted, "... if they conceive the public good requires it, the applicant complying with the law in all respects as are required by other applicants for ferries in this territory." This ferry was later established by one Adolphus F. Hibbard.

The first General Assembly of the state of Illinois enacted a revised ferry and toll bridge act in which they placed both under the general supervision of the county commissioners. The commissioners were to be authorized to grant licenses to any individual or individuals within their respective counties to erect toll bridges on any public road whenever the public convenience should require it, under a twenty-year limit. The owner of the land bordering on the stream was to have the preference in erecting such a bridge or turnpike.

The commissioners were to have the power to fix the rates for tolls and ferriage. All ferries were bound to pass public expresses, sent by the United States, the Governor or any military officer, free of charge. Ferries were to be open from sunrise to sunset:

Provided, however, that all ferry-keepers shall be obliged at any hour of the night if required, except in case of evident danger, to give passage to all public expresses above recited, and to all other persons requiring the same on their tendering and paying double the rate of ferriage allowed to be taken during the daytime.

In the early days of the American occupation, ministers of the gospel were allowed to pass free of ferriage, but this privilege was abolished by legislative enactment shortly before the admission of the state.

Ferry-keepers were considered persons of such outstanding public service that they were free of militia duty and of road work. Apparently, some ferries were kept by women,

for the act referred to the ferry-keeper consistently as "he or she."

The ferry-keeper was required to give security for the safe performance of his duties. A typical ferry license found in Book I of the St. Clair County Court, under date of May, 1818, is:

On application of Isaac Hill by John Reynolds to hold a ferry at his place on the Kaskaskia river, granted. He entering into bond according to law, and to take the following rate for passengers, to-wit:

When the waters are within its banks:

Man and horse.....	18¾ cents
Single man.....	12½ cents
Wagon and team—Empty.....	100 cents
Lumber per 100 lbs.....	6¼ cents
Leading horse.....	6¼ cents
and double the above rate when the water overflows its banks.	

This Hill ferry was apparently near the site of the present city of Carlyle, for it was located where "the United States Survey Road from Vincennes to St. Louis" reached the Kaskaskia River. Carlyle was then in St. Clair County and later became a part of Washington County. One early election act provided that the sheriffs of Washington County and of Bond County should meet at Isaac Hill's ferry to count the returns for representative in the legislature.

Carlyle had a toll bridge as early as 1828 when Charles Slade secured a license from the General Assembly, before the town became the county seat of Clinton County. In 1835 the Carlyle Bridge Company was incorporated for \$25,000 to erect a new structure.

Another of the earliest bridges authorized by the state was to be built by William Morrison on the Kaskaskia River a little south of the Vincennes road at a point where he



had earlier had a ferry. Morrison was granted permission to take toll in 1816 and again in 1821. He planned a "floating bridge."

In his 1821 charter appears the following interesting provision:

If at any time the said bridge should be left out of repair for the space of two weeks the said bridge shall accrue to the county in which it shall be, provided, however, that the destruction of said bridge by fire, high water, or other unavoidable accident shall not work a forfeiture of the privileges hereby granted but the said William Morrison or his heirs shall proceed immediately to repair the same.

It is curious that a recently built highway bridge crosses the Kaskaskia River just south of the city of Carlyle on the road from Springfield to Pinckneyville. For this bridge the General Assembly of 1927 and of 1929 made a special appropriation totalling \$150,000.

The same General Assembly of 1823 which chartered Slade's toll bridge granted permission to one Samuel Lapsley to build what seems to have been the first bridge over the Illinois River. In many cases ferries were changed to toll bridges by legislative enactment.

The most important ferry, however, did not become a bridge until long after the period within which this paper is confined. Most of the numerous corporations chartered during this period of expansion ceased almost before they had begun work, but the Wiggins Ferry still, after more than 110 years, makes half-hourly trips between St. Louis and the Illinois shore.

The original St. Louis ferry, as established by Captain James Piggott about 1795, became involved in difficulties on Piggott's death. About 1817 several short-lived ferries were established, one of them by a partnership of John Rey-

nolds—later Governor of Illinois—and William A. Beaird. It is amusing to note that at the same time that they secured their ferry license, Reynolds and Beaird secured a license also to operate a tavern at the ferry landing, the two being apparently inseparable.

In 1819 Samuel Wiggins, an enterprising and capable citizen, secured a ferry charter from the General Assembly which extended to his heirs and assigns. He established his ferry and bought up a large tract of land. In 1821 he found himself in difficulties. A sand bar had been formed opposite the ferry, and Wiggins went to the legislature to secure permission to remove his ferry to other land belonging to him along the Mississippi River. This permission was granted in such broad terms—which were later revoked—as to give Wiggins permission to remove his ferry wherever he pleased.

At the same time, Wiggins was authorized to construct a turnpike road, 100 feet wide, from the Mississippi River to the Bluffs across the American Bottoms, “and to construct all necessary bridges on said road and that he be and hereby is authorized to build and make said turnpike road through the lands of any person or persons whomsoever, except yards, gardens, orchards, or dwelling-houses.”

Wiggins was so successful in his Mississippi River project that he undertook to build a toll bridge on the Kaskaskia River. The act authorizing this enterprise provided that residents of St. Clair and Washington counties should go toll-free, and if the bridge were erected on the line of Washington and Clinton counties, Clinton county residents should also go toll-free. Such provisions were occasionally made in charters.

One bridge act for the Big Muddy River in Jackson County provided that no toll should be taken on Wednes-

days and Saturdays. If those were market days the provision seems rather unfair to the toll-keeper.

The Wiggins Ferry Company did an immense and monopolistic business, so successful that it must have aroused dislike, for the General Assembly of 1839 passed an act:

Whereas, there exists great commerce and trade between the people of this State and the city of St. Louis and as there is at all times, and particularly at the fall season of the year an immense traffic with the State of Missouri, and as this immense commerce and trade has to cross the Mississippi River at St. Louis by means of one ferry in consequence of which it is inconvenient and injurious to the people of this State in the necessary transaction of their business, as they frequently are detained several hours waiting to cross, and

Whereas, the present company now owning said ferry are citizens of St. Louis and having no competition, said ferry has become a complete monopoly in the hands of nonresidents to the great injury of the people of this State. . . The county commissioners of St. Clair County are required to examine the ground and locate a road and ferry landing between Cahokia Creek and the Mississippi River opposite St. Louis, and said road and ferry landing shall be located three hundred feet wide on the most eligible ground for said purpose, doing as little damage as possible to any building or improvements on said ground, and said road and ferry-landing shall be and remain a public highway forever.

It was provided that this ferry might be leased to private persons for a term of five years. It was established under the name of the St. Clair County Ferry and continued in existence several years. A bill for injunction brought by the proprietors of the Wiggins Ferry, which was at this time a co-partnership, not a corporation, was dismissed by the Supreme Court of Illinois in a decision later affirmed by the United States Supreme Court. (See 2 Gilman 147 for the Illinois decision.)

At the time the Wiggins Ferry was established there was, or there arose shortly afterward, a low sandy island in the middle of the Mississippi River, which was worthless to either state, and was a convenient 'No Man's Land' for use as a duelling ground. The shifting course of the river attached it to the eastern bank, it being separated from the mainland of Illinois by Cahokia Creek, which was sometimes called "The Rigolet."

The Wiggins Ferry was in time transferred to the western shore of this island, where it still stands. When the railroads were built to the Mississippi, their passengers dismounted at Illinoistown, and crossed the river by ferry. (An excellent survey map of the river at St. Louis accompanies the court report cited above. It shows how frequently the ferries were forced to change their landings on either side of the river on account of shifts in the stream. This map is dated 1843.)

It may be added that the Wiggins Ferry Company was incorporated in 1853. It was eventually taken over by the Terminal Railroad Association, by which it is now operated. The Terminal Railroad Association also controls the Eads Bridge, the first bridge across the lower Mississippi, which was completed in 1874.

Another ferry was established in 1839, which ran from Venice, just over the Madison County line, to North St. Louis, passing near the end of Bloody Island at the north. The first attempt to build a bridge across the Mississippi was made in the same year, when the Illinois-Missouri Bridge Company of Alton was incorporated for \$1,000,000.

This was the first of many unsuccessful efforts to organize companies to bridge the Mississippi River at or near St. Louis. The Eads Bridge was finally opened thirty-five years later.

## VI

I have no space to discuss at length the most extensive and important waterway project carried out by the State of Illinois—the Illinois-Michigan Canal, which is at the present day only beginning to approach valuable use.

In 1674 Jolliet recommended to his commanding officer that France should construct a waterway to connect Lake Michigan with the DesPlaines and Illinois rivers. In 1808 Albert Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury, advocated a “ship canal” across the Chicago portage as a matter of military and commercial importance. In 1811 an Illinois waterway was reported to Congress in a bill for the Erie and other canals.

In 1816, on August 24, the Ottawa, Chippewa and Pottawatamie Indians by treaty relinquished all territorial claims and ceded the territory within ten miles of the water route through the valleys of the Chicago, Des Plaines and Illinois rivers for a small sum of money, and the promise that the canal would be built. (William F. Mulvihill lists these dates in a review of the waterway development of Illinois in the *Illinois Blue Book* for 1927-1928.)

In 1822, Congress granted a strip of land ninety feet wide each along the proposed route, for the purpose of building the canal. A survey was made in 1823, and the cost estimated at \$716,110. In 1827, Congress granted alternate sections of land for five miles out either way along the route, to be sold for the benefit of the canal. These lands included most of the present Loop District of Chicago.

The Board of Canal Commissioners, consisting of three members appointed by the Governor, was created in 1828 and the construction of the canal under their authority authorized. The canal was to be forty feet wide at the summit



or water line, twenty-eight feet wide at the bottom, and of such depth as to contain at least four feet of water.

The canal extended some distance down the Illinois River as well as across the Chicago Portage, on account of the difficulties of navigation of the Illinois above Ottawa. At one time, 1831, the General Assembly considered and intended turning the canal into a railroad but in 1835 they returned to the canal project and floated a loan of \$500,000, "solely on the pledge of the canal lands and tolls as hereinafter provided for the purpose of aiding in the construction of the Illinois and Michigan canal, which shall be required to be paid at such times by instalments as the same may be needed in the progress of the said work as near as the same can be estimated."

In 1839 the state again negotiated a canal loan for \$4,000,000.

The first earth had actually been turned on July 4, 1836. The canal work continued to progress—and to swallow money—until it was finally completed in 1848 at a cost of \$6,557,681.50.

The great work was finished—almost too late. Within a period of twenty years, the river traffic began to decline. There were improvements still to be made along the Illinois River, and it was a long time before they were made. It seemed that the long-planned connection between the Illinois River and Lake Michigan was useless except for drainage purposes.

In recent years a revival of interest in water transportation has led to the completion of a deep waterway from the Mississippi to Lake Michigan which will, it is to be hoped, be in effective operation within the next few years. It would seem that the course of history is not spasmodic but inter-related, particularly such history as is conditioned by geog-

raphy. The Illinois River and Lake Michigan constitute the most permanent of highways, under whatever government.

## VII

I have spoken of many great undertakings in the way of internal improvements. It may be wondered how these projects—most of them far more ambitious than their devisors imagined—were supported financially.

The original act of the legislature of the Northwest Territory provided that fines for failure to perform road duty were to be paid into a fund for building smaller bridges and culverts, while the expense of building larger bridges was to be estimated by the court, and submitted to the legislature.

The second act, that of 1799, provided that the county commissioners should levy a road tax, necessary to maintain the roads of the county, which should not exceed one-half of the total tax levied on the same persons for territorial or county expenses. This tax might be discharged in labor. Numerous fines were fixed for various offenses, which were to go into the road and bridge funds. One curious ordinance was that men laboring on the highway were to be fined \$1.00 for asking money or drink of travelers. The penalty for a supervisor guilty of the same offense was \$5.00.

The Public Roads Act of the First General Assembly of Illinois, in 1819, provided that the county commissioners were to have general supervision over highways, ferries and bridges, with the power to appoint supervisors for the various road districts. The supervisors had large powers of obtaining materials:

For this purpose (building bridges) as well as for repairing the roads and highways they may cut and



take from land adjoining, such and so much timber as may be necessary and may dig and haul away so much earth, stone and gravel from any lot as may be required, the same being first viewed and valued by two householders sworn for the purpose by a justice of the peace, unless the owner or owners or their agent shall freely give the same for those uses.

In city or village, the supervisors could not take materials for repairing the highways without the consent of the owner.

If the county commissioners did not have sufficient funds on hand to build bridges they might receive private subscriptions for the amount required, which were to be repaid with interest. They also had the power to make a contract with any individual for turnpiking a road, that is, for taking over the maintenance of a road and exacting toll from those who used it in compensation. An application for a turnpike contract was required to be posted two months in advance in "three of the most conspicuous places in the county."

The State of Illinois itself had a valuable source of income in the salt licks located in the southeastern part of the state on the Saline, Vermilion and other rivers. These lands were reserved by the United States when the country was surveyed and leased by the general government. When Illinois became a state, these leases were assigned to the state by the President of the United States. As soon as they were turned over, the General Assembly granted the Governor authority to execute further leases and in general administer the "Saline Reserve" as a source of revenue for the State of Illinois.

In 1821 the office of Supervisor of the Gallatin County Saline was created at a salary of \$800 a year and the provision was made that no leases were to be executed for a longer period than ten years.

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In the same year, thirty thousand acres of saline reserve land leased by the United States for salt-making was laid off in twelve-acre lots for dams and water-works, which were constructed along the Saline Creek, in such a manner as to promote, not obstruct, its navigation.

The fund thereby created was to be used for extensive improvements, chief of which was a group of navigation improvements. Saline Creek was to be improved; the Big Muddy River was to be improved; four bridges were to be built; the road across "the Maple Swamp and between Equality and Carlyle, and the road leading from Equality to St. Louis" were to be aided. Besides all this, a penitentiary was to be built at Alton.

Soon the mere use of the Saline Reserve as a source of income did not satisfy the General Assembly of Illinois, and they began to want to use the principal, as it might be called, of their resources. In 1828 the General Assembly, with a curious eagerness to spend their profits in advance, enacted a bill authorizing the Governor to sell the Saline Reserve on the Big Vermilion River, "so soon as the Congress of the United States shall lift the restrictions thereon." They then proceeded to appropriate something over \$9,300 for various local improvements.

The proceeds of the first 10,000 acres were to be used entirely to improve navigation of the Great Wabash River, from its mouth to Terre Haute. Sums ranging from \$700 to \$2000 were appropriated for highways and waterway improvements, to be carried out by the county commissioners of the counties respectively interested.

Appropriations of about \$3500 from the proceeds of the Gallatin County Saline were made by the 1831 Assembly.

For several years the state received a considerable sum annually from the sale of saline lands. Unfortunately, this

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source of revenue had practically ceased in 1835, when the state caught the enthusiasm for internal improvement which was then sweeping the country. The General Assembly of 1837 created a board of seven Commissioners of Public Works and a board of three Fund Commissioners

For the purpose of promoting and maintaining a general system of internal improvements in this state, to locate, maintain, direct and construct on the part and behalf of the State all works of internal improvements which have been or shall be authorized to be undertaken, prosecuted and constructed by the State either in whole or in part, excepting the Illinois and Michigan Canal.

The Board was directed to begin immediately the construction of \$10,250,000 worth of improvements. The state did not, of course, have the money on hand. It was to be procured by the establishment of a State Bank.

The projects planned were:

Improvement of Wabash River.....	\$100,000
Improvement of Illinois River.....	100,000
Improvement of Rock River.....	100,000
Improvement of Kaskaskia River.....	50,000
Improvement of Little Wabash River.....	50,000
Improvement of Great Western Mail Route	250,000

Southern Cross Railroad.....	\$1,600,000
Central Railroad.....	3,500,000
Northern Cross Railroad.....	1,850,000
Peoria-Warsaw Railroad.....	700,000
Alton-Hillsboro Railroad.....	500,000
Hillsboro-Terre Haute Railroad.....	650,000
Bloomington-Pekin Railroad.....	350,000
Belleville-Lebanon Railroad.....	150,000

Distributed to counties where no improvement was projected.....	\$200,000
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## ILLINOIS HIGHWAYS, 1700-1848

Further ambitious projects were created by the General Assembly of 1839. The sum appropriated for the Great Western Mail Route was specifically appropriated:

- \$30,000 to improving the road between Vincennes and Lawrenceville by "Purgatory Swamp"
- \$15,000 to improving the Little Wabash River bottoms between the Big Muddy branch and the main river in Clay County
- \$30,000 to improving the road between the river and the bluffs in St. Clair County.

Among the 1839 improvements, \$1000 was appropriated for improving the Cahokia-Kaskaskia road through Monroe County. However, most of the contemplated improvements were railroads. The possibilities of steam transportation had captured the popular imagination, and the people were willing to lend state aid to building railroads, no matter who built them, nor where they ran.

The whole plan collapsed almost as soon as it was well-started with the panic which depressed the United States. A portion of the Northern Cross Railroad was completed in 1842 by diverting \$100,000 from the canal fund. It was sold in 1847 for one-tenth of its value and the proceeds paid on notes of the State of Illinois which had greatly depreciated with the failure of the bank plan. The Board of Commissioners of Public Works was abolished and reorganized in 1839.

## VIII

For the construction of its highways, the state was obliged to return to the system of granting turnpike franchises. In 1839 the Vandalia-Mississippi Turnpike Company was incorporated with a capital of \$500,000 to build a road from "the termination of the Cumberland Road at Vandalia, or from some convenient place on said road to Greenville,

Amity (now Pocahontas), to the bank of the Mississippi at Illinoistown, or else to the upper ferry."

The road was to be eighty feet wide, and was to be constructed at the discretion of the corporation, beginning either at Greenville and going west, or at the river and going east. It was provided that toll might be collected for every ten miles as soon as it was completed, and that particularly, as soon as the portion through the American Bottom was finished, toll might be charged for so much. It was stipulated that "nothing in this shall be so construed as to interfere in any manner whatsoever with the location by the United States of the Cumberland Road between the points described in this Act."

This road left the Mississippi ferry and ran on a slant through Illinoistown, and thence northeastward through the American Bottom into Madison County, entering the bluffs—as it still does—at Collinsville. It was called for this portion "the Collinsville Plank Road."

It skirted Indian Lake, a swamp just north of the present city limit of East St. Louis, and passed the historic pile of Cahokia Mound (also known as Monks' Mound—the largest Indian mound in existence), and a series of smaller mounds.

This route was an old one, probably begun by Indians who came from the river to visit their burial-mounds. Henry M. Brackenridge, who wrote a classic description of travel in the Mississippi Valley in 1811, told of following it to Cahokia Mound. It would seem from Brackenridge's narrative that the route was the same, even in detail, in his time as it was in later years.

He mentions passing a mound just as he left Illinoistown. This mound was destroyed about forty years ago, but persons now living can remember it standing at Collinsville



and Summit avenues, East St. Louis, on the route of the old Collinsville Plank Road.

Those who lived near this road recall that the planks were about two inches thick. The company apparently was not so successful as they hoped, and the road was allowed to deteriorate. The farmers nearby became so angry that they made detours by other roads to avoid the toll gate.

In time the road became so bad that Mr. John Allen, a tavernkeeper on the shore of Indian Lake, took about a subscription paper, on which the farmers pledged themselves to contribute a certain amount of money and labor to buy and haul rock for the purpose of repairing the road.

The present National Old Trails Road (U. S. 40, Illinois State Bond Issue Route 11) is built across Indian Lake on a sort of embankment, thereby avoiding numerous railroad tracks which cross the old Collinsville Road. However, in times of high water, the Mississippi River backs in Cahokia Creek, and the waters of Indian Lake, having no outlet, cover the modern hard road. At such times the old Collinsville Road is again put into service, sometimes for several months.

Another turnpike and a more successful one, was the St. Clair County Turnpike Company's road from Belleville to the St. Louis ferry.

A turnpike company was first authorized to work on the Great Western Mail Route in 1883, when the Wabash-Mississippi Turnpike Company was incorporated for \$500,000 to build a road by way of Vincennes, Lawrenceville, Maysville, Salem, Carlyle and Belleville to St. Louis. The road was to be sixty feet in width, of which at least twenty feet were to be "artificial road"—enough to allow vehicles to pass each other in bad weather. Toll gates were to be



built every ten miles. The franchise was to endure fifty years.

From the state acts of the following years, it would seem that this plan was not successful. In 1847 the St. Clair County Turnpike Company was incorporated for the purpose of constructing a turnpike road from the bank of the Mississippi opposite St. Louis to High Street in Belleville, to be made on the Great Western Mail Route. The state reserved the right to purchase the road at the expiration of twenty-five years.

It appears from these various acts that the Great Western Mail Route at this period was somewhat different from the original Vincennes-St. Louis road (Illinois State Bond Issue Route 12). It turned slightly southwest from Carlyle, and ran directly into Belleville and thence to the American Bottoms, while the original road ran, and still runs, some miles to the north. (This alternate route from Carlyle to St. Louis via Belleville is State Bond Issue Route 166.) Both roads entered Illinoistown from the east, and terminated at the Wiggins' ferry.

The St. Clair County Turnpike Company built and maintained what is said to have been the first macadamized road in the West. Its right of way is still used as originally laid out, with the exception of the portion from Tenth Street, East St. Louis, to the river. It is known in its entirety familiarly as "the Rock Road," although the East St. Louis portion is officially called "State Street" and the Belleville portion "West Main Street."

The state did not take advantage of the right of purchase at the expiration of the original term of the act of incorporation. The St. Clair County Turnpike Company continued an active career until about 1900, long after other similar enterprises had been abandoned. It was then taken over by the state after a lengthy dispute among the stockholders.

## IX

In a somewhat desultory way, I have tried to show some of the important or interesting aspects of the development of the highways of Illinois, and particularly those with which I am personally familiar. It is a subject that grows more fascinating and unending with every attempt to study it. It is history preserved in life today—not in monuments alone, nor in fading record-books, but in the concrete beneath our tires, in the safe and steady flow of the river under our coal-barges. It is history that has no recorded beginning, for the forest was penetrated with trails, and the rivers followed by canoes, long before Marquette and Jolliet found their way to the Great River. It is history that will have no end so long as the men of Illinois are blessed with ambition and imagination.

It is history without biography, save in a few isolated instances: the history of a whole state, of the small efforts of millions of men and women who built bridges and kept ferries, who surveyed roads and dug canals through two hundred and fifty years. They are men and women whose names are unknown but they have left for themselves a "monument more enduring than bronze."

APPENDIX

PUBLIC ROADS OF ILLINOIS LAID OUT FROM 1818 TO 1848

1819

Roads Laid Out      Kaskaskia-Golconda  
                            Illinoistown—Six Mile Prairie

1821

Declared Public Road   Shawneetown—Kaskaskia

1823

Roads Laid Out      Vandalia—Shawneetown  
                            Vandalia—America  
                            Vandalia—Golconda  
                            Vandalia—Palestine  
                            Vandalia—Alton  
                            Vandalia—Illinoistown  
                            Vandalia—Fairfield  
                            John McCalla's—Vincennes  
                            Fairfield—Wabash River  
                            Fairfield—Carmi

Declared Public Roads Shawneetown—Gallatin County  
                                    Saline  
                                    Carmi—Bonpas  
                                    McCalla's Bridge—St. Louis  
                                    Shawneetown—Kaskaskia

1825

Roads Laid Out      Gallatin Saline—Littleton's Ferry  
                            Springfield—Paris  
                            Columbia—Illinoistown  
                            Springfield—Illinois River  
                            Prairie du Rocher—Cahokia  
                            Wakefield's Settlement—Paris  
                            Vandalia—Atlas Mills  
                            Carmi—Shawneetown

Declared Public Road   Illinoistown—Vandalia

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1827

Roads Laid Out W. C. Wiggins'—George Swig-  
gart's

Declared Public Roads Mt. Vernon—Carlyle  
Ford's Ferry—Equality  
Carylye—Sangamon County  
Springfield—Peoria

1829

Roads Laid Out Illinoistown—Franklin County  
Hillsboro—Paris  
Lawrenceville—Springfield  
Curtis' Bridge—Edwardsville  
McKinzey's—Equality  
Vandalia—Lebanon  
Beard's Ferry—Quincy  
Georgetown—Dillinger's Mill  
Vincennes—St. Louis  
Vandalia—Eminence

Declared Public Roads Little Muddy Creek—Big Muddy  
Creek  
Vandalia—Springfield  
Carrollton and Jacksonville—  
Beard's Ferry  
Irvin's—McLeansboro—  
McKinzie's  
Vincennes—Danville

1831

Roads Laid Out Mt. Carmel—Maysville  
French Creek Bridge—Mt. Carmel  
Hillsboro—Shelbyville  
Mt. Carmel—Fairfield  
Fairfield—Salem  
Salem—Vandalia  
Vincennes—Chicago  
Lawrenceville—Shelbyville  
Henderson's—Jacksonville  
Shelbyville—Paris

JOSEPHINE BOYLAN

Springfield—Rock Island  
Carmi—Wabash River  
Greenville—Shelbyville  
Pekin—Big Grove  
Vandalia—Atlas Mills  
Cumberland Road—Kaskaskia  
Nashville—Gill's Ferry  
Lively's Ferry—Kirkpatrick's  
Bridge  
Tatman's Ferry—Belleville  
Belleville—Gorden's  
Alton—Beardstown  
Galena—Beardstown

Declared Public Roads Fairfield—Maysville  
Ford's Ferry—Mt. Vernon  
Equality—Mt. Vernon  
Golconda—Salem  
Brownsville—Golconda and Vandalia Road

1833

Roads Laid Out Gill's Ferry—Little Muddy  
Bridge  
St. Louis Ferry—Galena  
Jacksonville—Burnett's Ferry  
(Louisiana, Mo.)  
Paris—National Road  
New Nashville—Lumb Creek  
Haynes' Ferry (Pekin)—Denniston's Ferry on the Mississippi  
River  
Golconda—Pinckneyville—Belleville  
Quincy—Macomb  
Mouth of the Ohio River—Lower  
Alton  
Decatur—Cumberland Road  
Rushville—Hancock County Seat  
—Quincy and Macomb Road  
Wagles'—Phillips' Ferry

## ILLINOIS HIGHWAYS, 1700-1848

### Roads Laid Out

Hillsboro—Greenville  
 Frankfort—Ledbetter's Ferry  
 Jacksonville—Meredosia—Wagles  
 Naples—meet above road  
 Paris—Clinton, Ind.  
 Salem—New Nashville  
 Albion—Salem  
 Beard's Ferry—Manchester—  
     Alton  
 Mt. Carmel—National Road  
 Mississippi River—Rushville  
 Blair's Ferry (Pope county)—  
     Vandalia  
 National Road—New Nashville  
 Vandalia—Hurricane Creek  
 Rock River—Beard's Town  
 Lewistown—Knoxville  
 Springfield—Shelbyville  
 Jacksonville—Carlinville  
 Tazewell County—mouth of the  
     Vermilion River  
 Ottawa—Wilson's Ferry  
 Ohio River—Belgrade and Petal-  
     lo's Bluff Road  
 Hillsboro—Alton  
 Danville—Ottawa  
 Peoria—Galena  
 Beard's Ferry—Quincy  
 Peoria—Fox River—Chicago  
 Wilcox' Ferry—Vienna—  
     Golconda and Vandalia Road  
 Hillsboro—Alton  
 Maysville—Ewington—Shelby-  
     ville  
 Springfield—Alton  
 Mt. Carmel—Palestine  
 Lawrenceville—Vincennes and  
     Chicago Road  
 Springfield—Beardstown  
 Chicago—Ottawa—Bloomington  
     —Grafton



JOSEPHINE BOYLAN

Roads Laid Out	Mt. Carmel and Maysville Road— Bonpas Creek Pekin—Danville and Big Grove Road Beardstown—Des Moines Rapids Danville—Charleston Beardstown—Alton
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1835

Roads Laid Out	Bloomington—Chicago Rushville—Monmouth Crow's—Musick's Bridge Rushville—Commerce Blair's Ferry—Vandalia Gilead—Rushville Springfield—Lewistown Shelbyville—Chicago Knoxville—New Boston Knoxville—Rock Island Hillsboro—Alton Paris—Terre Haute, Ind. Moses Thomas'—Bloomington Frankfort—Vienna—Wilcox Ferry Wabash—Yellow Banks on the Mississippi Lebanon—Benj. Johnson's H. I. Mills'—Palestine to Mills Road Shelbyville—Vincennes Golconda—Pinckneyville Brownsville—New Nashville Greenville—Carlinville Equality—McLeansboro Chicago—Galena Pawpaw Grove—Rock Island
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Declared Public Roads	Mt. Vernon—New Nashville Danville—Indiana Line Pinckneyville—St. Louis Paris—Terre Haute Fairfield—Mt. Vernon
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# ILLINOIS HIGHWAYS, 1700-1848

1836

## Roads Laid Out

Rushville—Commerce  
 Equality—McLeansboro  
 Frankfort—Vienna—Wilcox'  
 Ferry  
 Quincy—Macomb  
 Kirkpatrick's Bridge—St. Louis  
 Illinoistown—Alton  
 Crow's—Musick's  
 Pittsfield—Lynnville  
 Maysville—Shelbyville  
 Wabash—Greenup—Shelbyville  
 Gilead—Rushville  
 Peoria—Pekin—Springfield Road  
 Peoria—Chicago  
 Commerce—Peoria  
 Danville—Ottawa  
 Peoria—Galena  
 Quincy—Pittsfield  
 Indiana Line—Ottawa  
 Meacham's Grove—Galena  
 Belvidere—Pekataonicka Creek  
 Mt. Carmel—Maysville  
 Bonpas Bridge—Bedell's Mills  
 Rushville—Warsaw  
 Lebanon—Lower Alton  
 Conger's Tavern—Albano

1837

## Roads Laid Out

Peoria—Princeton  
 Clarksville, Mo.—Gilead and  
 Pittsfield Road  
 Grafton—Carrollton Road  
 Nashville—Equality  
 Knoxville—Stephenson  
 Decatur and Springfield Road—  
 Waynesville  
 Peoria—Galena  
 Pekin—Springfield  
 Thornton—Dixon's Ferry

JOSEPHINE BOYLAN

Roads Laid Out

Pinckneyville—Golconda  
Darwin—Terre Haute, Ind.  
Ottawa—Dixon's Ferry—High  
Point  
Albion—Maysville  
Chester—Belleville  
Beardstown—Mt. Sterling  
Tully, Mo.—Quincy and Macomb  
Road  
Chester—Kaskaskia  
Burlington, Ia.—Farmington  
Monmouth—Stephenson  
Danville—Ottawa  
Orendir's—Nelson's  
Waterloo—Tamaroa—Nashville  
Washington—Columbia  
Equality—Vienna  
LaFayette—Ottawa  
Shelbyville—Danville  
Ottawa—Naperville  
Indiana Line—Winchester  
Meacham's Ferry—Carlinville  
Bridgeport—Montezuma and  
Glasgow Road  
Danville—New Castle  
Decatur—Edinburg—Carlinville  
Meredosia—Warsaw  
Commerce—Farmington  
Liberty—Pinckneyville  
Marshall—Charleston  
Vandalia—Alton  
Atlas—Adams County Line  
Hennepin—Springfield  
Peoria—Hendersonville  
Crow's—Jacksonville  
Macomb—Burlington, Ia.  
Newton—Decatur  
Danville—Decatur  
Enterprise—Knoxville  
Princeton—Pawpaw Grove  
White Hall—Pittsfield

## ILLINOIS HIGHWAYS, 1700-1848

### Roads Laid Out

White Hall—Fayette  
Lake Fork Bridge—Dry Fork of  
the Macoupin  
Pekin—Clinton—Paris  
Chicago—Oregon City  
Vandalia—Edinburg—Springfield  
Windsor—Bloomington  
McLeansboro—Golconda  
Peoria—Knoxville  
Peoria—Quincy  
Shokoken—Rushville  
Shelbyville—Wabash River  
Indiana Line—Paris and Spring-  
field Road  
Galena—Beardstown  
Salem—Chester  
Warsaw—Peoria  
Utica—Farmington  
Ottawa—State Line  
Hardy Foster's—Shelbyville  
Peoria and Ottawa Road—Chicago  
and Vincennes Road  
Jonesboro—Ohio River Mouth  
Freeman's Ferry—Herralds'  
Cleveland—Versailles  
Shawneetown—Equality  
Covington—Nashville  
Griggsville—Joshue Hanks'  
Anderson's Bridge—B. Johnson's  
Marshall—Grandview  
Stephenson—Pickatonica Creek  
Jacksonville—Pekin  
Athens—Havana  
Grafton—Wood River  
Wesley City—Bloomington  
McLeansboro—Golconda  
Ottawa—Grand Detour—Galena  
and Peoria Road  
Stephenson—Peoria  
Quincy—Phillips' Ferry  
Henderson—Morrisonstown

JOSEPHINE BOYLAN

Roads Laid Out	Charleston—Springfield Shelbyville—Danville and Chicago Road Fairfield—Monmouth Shawneetown—Gill's Ferry Shawneetown—Road Continued to Chicago French Creek Bridge—Bonpas Creek Hennepin—Mouth of Rock River Indiana State Line—Madison, Wis. via Lockport (Sac Trail) Beardstown—Petersburg Appanoose—Crooked Creek Alton—Dry Fork of Macoupin Lawrenceville—Russellville Albion—H. I. Mills' Salem—Charleston Cartwright's—New Virginia Munson—Wisconsin Line Fox River—Oregon Peru—LaFayette, Ind. Pontiac—State Line Juliet—Rock Island Carlinville—Grafton Canton—Knoxville St. Marion—Savannah Hennepin—Fulton Bowling Green—Newton Vandalia—Carlyle Petersburg—Macomb
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Declared Public Roads	Martin's Ferry—Alton Salem—Greenville Springfield—Rochester Peoria—Knoxville
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1839

Roads Laid Out	Robertson—Sarahville Parkin's Ferry—Brownsville McLeansboro—Mt. Vernon
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# ILLINOIS HIGHWAYS, 1700-1848

## Roads Laid Out

Danville—Indiana Line  
 Newton—Vandalia and Maysville  
 Road  
 Four-Mile Prairie—Louisville  
 Slocumb's Mill—Maysville  
 Louisville—Mt. Carmel Road  
 Clay County Line—Charleston  
 Carlinville—Greenville  
 Upper Alton—Greenville  
 Lexington—Matanzas  
 Pope's Creek—Stephenson  
 New Albany—Geneseo  
 New Boston—Richmond  
 Juliet—Indiana Line  
 Farmington—Richmond  
 Macomb—Burlington, Ia.  
 Clayton—Rushville and Warsaw  
 Road  
 Mt. Sterling—Liberty  
 Chicago—Madison, Wis.  
 Crystalville—Round Prairie  
 Will County Line—Rockford—  
 Mineral Point  
 Winnebago—Will County Line  
 La Salle—State Line  
 Beverly—Perry  
 Union Grove—Jacksonville  
 Appanoose—Burlington, Ia.  
 Columbus—Chambersburg  
 Quincy—Mt. Sterling  
 Farmington—Monmouth  
 Springfield—Macomb  
 Vandalia—Springfield  
 Andover—Mississippi River  
 Salem—Charleston  
 Indiana State Line—Ottawa  
 Shelbyville—Chicago  
 Naples—Bloomfield  
 Hennepin—Victoria  
 Rockford—Savannah  
 Charleston—Shelbyville

JOSEPHINE BOYLAN

Roads Laid Out	<p> Louisville—Onslott's  Gill's Ferry—Shawneetown  Jonesboro—Ryburn's  Beardstown—Manchester  Naperville—Indian Creek  Vermilion and Champaign  Counties  Mt. Sterling—Macomb  Warsaw—Lima  Pekin—Canton  Mt. Sterling—Springfield  Rushville—Pittsfield  Shelbyville—Decatur  Chicago—Madison, Wis.  Middle Fork, Franklin County—  Maulding's Mills  Bainbridge—Jonesboro  Tremont—Josephine  Winchester—Wilmington  Nashville—Belleville  Fox River—Dixon's Ferry  Salem—Pinckneyville  Vermilion—Iroquois Line—Joliet  Jenison's Ferry—Cape Girardeau,  Mo.  Huey's—Fayette County  Charleston—Keeler's  Peoria and Galena Road—Peoria  and Knoxville Road  Rochester—Stephenson  Belleville—Brownsville  Shelbyville—Hillsboro  Will County Line—Winnebago  County Seat </p>
Declared Public Road	Mt. Carmel—Lawrenceville

1840

Roads Laid Out	<p> Petersburg—Waverly  Little Muddy—Benton—Galatia </p>
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# ILLINOIS HIGHWAYS, 1700-1848

1841

Roads Laid Out

McLeansboro—Pinckneyville  
 Shawneetown—Vienna  
 B. Johnson's—Lebanon  
 Dutchman's Point—Chicago  
 Equality—Marion  
 Springfield—Beardstown  
 Auburn—New Richmond  
 Hunt's Bridge—Appanoose  
 Greenville—Jacksonville  
 Jacksonville—Carlinville  
 McLeansboro—Mt. Vernon  
 Jacksonville—Springfield  
 Carlinville—Jacksonville  
 Jacksonville—Winchester  
 Columbus—Brooklyn  
 Moore's—Van Burensburg  
 Carlinville—Berlin  
 Peoria—Fairview  
 Columbus—Houston  
 Shelbyville—Lawrenceville  
 Urbana—Marion  
 Oliver's Grove—Peoria  
 Hillsboro—Shelbyville  
 McLeansboro—Bear Creek Bridge  
 Ottawa—Wisconsin Line  
 Decatur—Macoupin Point  
 Mt. Vernon—Brownsville  
 Geneva—Warrenville  
 Lima—Nauvoo  
 York—Watertown  
 Richmond—Shelbyville and Vandalia Road

Declared Public Roads

Chicago—Sand Ridge  
 LeRoy—Lexington

1843

Roads Laid Out

Harrison's—Prairie du Pont  
 Belvidere—Little Fort  
 Quincy—Augusta

JOSEPHINE BOYLAN

Roads Laid Out

Taylorville—Zanesville  
Marion—Jonesboro  
Lancaster—Peoria  
Princeton—Pawpaw Grove  
Chicago—Grand Detour  
Petersburg—Macomb  
Jeminson's Ferry—Cape Girardeau, Mo.  
Fox River—Gary Mills  
Vandalia—Hickory Hill  
Lewistown—Monmouth  
Hendersonville—Millersburg  
Chicago—Dixon  
Elgin—Oregon Road  
La Salle—Inlet Grove  
Josephine—Knoxville  
Frederickville—Macomb  
Wright's—Portland  
St. Charles—Rockford  
Brown's—Nashville

1845

Roads Laid Out

Mt. Sterling—Arenzville—Springfield  
Havana—Clinton  
St. Charles—Brawdies' Grove  
Naperville—Steam Mill Bridge  
(Cook County)  
Farmington—Monmouth  
Golconda—Elizabethtown  
Lake Peoria—Bloomington  
Olney—Richland  
LaSalle—Homer  
Dixon—Daysville  
David Strain's—Middleport  
Postville—Mechanicsburg  
Mendon—Carthage  
York—Watertown  
Fulton City—Oregon  
Des Plaines River—Aurora and  
Dixon Road

# ILLINOIS HIGHWAYS, 1700-1848

## Roads Laid Out

Toulon—Oquawka via LaFayette  
 Ottawa—Peru  
 Mt. Carmel—Chicago  
 Peru—Galena  
 Belvidere—Little Fort  
 Fredericksville—Virginia  
 Chester—Murphysboro  
 Peru—Nathan Pattan's  
 Nathan Pattan's—Bloomington  
 Knoxville—Josephine  
 Clear Creek—Bowler's Farm  
 Vandalia—Fairfield Road  
 Mt. Pleasant—Springfield  
 York—Martinsville  
 Henry—Indiana Line  
 Charleston—Mt. Pleasant  
 Massac—Union Point  
 Bath—Vermont  
 Equality—Marion  
 Springfield—Bath  
 Northampton—Boyd's Grove  
 Worchester—Carthage  
 VanBurensburg—George Moore's  
 Columbiana—J. Andrew's Cabinet  
 Shop  
 St. Mary's—Cumberland  
 Pinckneyville—Liberty  
 Little Rock—Steam Mill Bridge  
 (Cook County)  
 Elgin—Sycamore  
 Mt. Sterling—Griggsville  
 Chicago—Miller's Grove  
 Batavia—David Bennett's

## Declared Public Roads

Charleston—Darwin  
 Wright's—McHenry

1847

## Roads Laid Out

Decatur—Edwardsville  
 Moore's Land—Mechanic's Ferry  
 Marshall's Grove—Sullivan



JOSEPHINE BOYLAN

Roads Laid Out

Sparta—Thomas Ferrill's  
Equality—Marion  
Rockford—Ottawa  
Astoria—Fulton  
Bridgeport—Pittsfield  
Bridgeport—Wilmington  
Harrison's—Prairie du Pont  
Chicago—Dixon  
La Salle—Savannah  
La Salle—Grand De Tour  
Chicago—Rockford  
Bloomington—Spring Bay  
Kaskaskia—St. Louis  
Beardstown—Rock River  
Springfield—Liverpool  
Liverpool—Canton  
Massac County—La Salle  
Bloomington—Farmington  
Lewistown—Petersburg  
Peru—Galena  
Du Page County—Kane County  
Du Page County—Aurora  
Lacon—LaFayette, Ind.  
Edwardsville—Decatur  
Spring Bay—Hennepin  
Havana—Crane Creek  
Ottawa—Peru  
Fox River—Rock River  
Batavia—Bennett's  
Rockford—State Line  
Bath—Waverly  
Knoxville—Macomb  
Springfield—Alton  
Equality—Marion  
Jacksonville—Alton

It will be noticed that the same road was laid out several times by the statutes. It is probable that the county commissioners concerned had delayed their work. I have omitted the numerous relocations and vacations, most of which caused a slight total variance in the route.

If the roads laid out by the statutes cited above are charted "by the nearest and best route" on a map of Illinois, it will be found that they constitute a complete road system, as of 1848, corresponding closely to the present state bond issue system.

### NOTE

For the information I have used in this paper, I am indebted to many standard reference works and to the recollections of a large number of persons, in addition to the special sources I am about to indicate.

Marquette and Jolliet's reports will be found in the *Jesuit Relations*, edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites, chiefly in Volume 49 ff.

I have used George Rogers Clark's autobiography, as edited by Quaife under the title, *The Capture of Vincennes*.

I am indebted to the St. Clair County Highway Department and to the officials of the St. Clair County Probate Court for the free use of their plat-books and of the records preserved in the County Museum. Mr. B. C. McCurdy, Superintendent of Highways, made available to me two articles, one written by the late Mr. Frank Moore, surveyor, of Chester, Ill., on "Kaskaskia Trails and Roads," the other by Dr. Bernard Stuvé, on "The State's Internal Improvement Venture of 1837-1838."

I was able to consult the early volumes of the Illinois Session Laws through the courtesy of Mr. J. L. McMurdo

of the East St. Louis Bar and of the firm of Whitnel and Browning, with which he is associated. Mr. McMurdo lent me the use of a copy of a rare *Index of the Private Laws of Illinois* published by Gross of Springfield in 1868, on which my table of roads is based where the original statutes were unavailable.

I wish before I close to express my deepest gratitude to a man to whom I was unable to turn for immediate assistance, but without whose past friendship I should have been unable to commence this work—to Mr. David Ogle Thomas (1876-1929), late Superintendent of the St. Clair County Highway Department, a gentleman and a scholar, and one of the great road-builders of modern Illinois.

# SOME THOUGHTS ON LINCOLN'S PRESIDENCY

*By* THOMAS EWING

When elected President, Lincoln recognized that he was practically unknown beyond Illinois, and he did something which had never been done before in the history of the United States. He immediately made up his cabinet in his own mind and he made it up so far as the principal places were concerned by the selection of his leading rivals for the nomination. This determined the appointment of Seward, Chase, Bates and Cameron. Then he picked out one or two personal friends and one more man from the South so as to have proper geographical distribution. Lincoln once remarked that if the twelve apostles were to be selected today the shrieks of locality would have to be heeded.

These great men whom he had gathered together and of whom he was the head, were a pretty difficult group of men to handle.

There was Seward, able, adroit, tactful, eminent, but a notorious busy-body. He prided himself on being called premier. He assumed to dictate not only the foreign policy of the government, but the policy of internal management as well, and practically to determine all of the important appointments.

Then there was Chase, arrogant, opinionated, critical of Lincoln's supposed lack of culture, finally driving the patient President to the point of saying that Chase thought himself essential to the nation; that all of Chase's intimate friends knew that he was and that Chase could not help wondering why the country did not know it. Staying in the cabinet he daily worked for the nomination for President

against his chief. His appointment to the supreme bench after Lincoln had beaten him for the nomination and been re-elected President, is one of the most generous acts the history of our politics presents.

And later on came Stanton, a born bully; cruel, vindictive, never forgetting an offense, but in capacity for work a steam-engine, and absolutely devoted to the interests to which he had given himself; who ran his department so entirely that he came to the point where he would not show important dispatches which he thought the President ought not to know about. Lincoln used humorously to call him "Marse." Entering the office of the War Department, Lincoln would say: : "Well, Marse Stanton, have you anything for me today?" Sometimes Stanton would reply and sometimes Lincoln would hunt around the office, turning up blotters and perhaps finding a dispatch that was hidden, and patiently accepting it because that was Stanton's way and he needed Stanton. The choice of Stanton to succeed Cameron shows how little personal feeling swayed Lincoln in the selection of the cabinet. Their only association had inspired Stanton with a contempt for Lincoln based on his personal appearance and he had savagely criticised his weakness in prosecuting the war. This very criticism was his recommendation because it revealed his intense devotion to the Union, which had first attached him to Jackson in the nullification days and led him into Buchanan's cabinet to save the fag end of his administration to the Union. He accepted the new office in the same spirit because he believed he could do better than the President. Lincoln might well have had Stanton's appointment in mind when he said after his reelection, "I recognize no such thing as political friendship personal to myself,"—though he showed himself in minor matters quite mindful of old personal and political friendships.



## SOME THOUGHTS ON LINCOLN'S PRESIDENCY

It is well known that the cabinet was torn by bitter antagonisms. Chase had his quarrels with Seward and Blair, Stanton his with Welles, and Welles was friends with nobody. Some years ago, while Commissioner of Patents, I was living in the house where Welles wrote his famous diary. It immediately adjoined the Old Corcoran property. There I picked up a story which the French Ambassador, M. Jusserand, assured me is true. After the second battle of Bull Run in the dreadful month of August, 1862, Stanton, having taken most of the churches for hospitals, concluded to seize certain private dwellings, among others, Mr. Corcoran's. Welles in his diary under date of August 31st says, "There is malice in this," but is silent as to what happened.

Welles informed Mr. Corcoran of the threatened seizure who forthwith let his house at a low rental to the French Minister and before Stanton could get possession the French flag was flying over it.

This incident illustrates the pulling at cross-purposes. Three men left the cabinet, Cameron for the good of the service, Chase with a view to becoming a candidate for President, and Blair who apparently was thrown as a tub to Fremont and other Republican whales in 1864.

It has been the custom of late years to attribute to Lincoln all of the work which the great men of his cabinet did in their different departments. I knew quite intimately the late Jacob W. Schuckers, who was Mr. Chase's secretary for a number of years and wrote a very interesting life of Chase. He said to me that it was of no use to write this life; the people of the United Staates had made up their minds that everything Chase did was really done by Lincoln, and no one could change that opinion.

So far as the Treasury Department is concerned, that was absolutely not the truth. Lincoln knew little of finance and cared less. When Chase resigned and Lincoln had to

appoint his successor he nominated first Tod of Ohio, who declined, and then Fessenden of Maine, two men who held diametrically opposite opinions on the money questions then pending before the public. What concerned Lincoln most was the politics of the appointment. It may be unwise to say so, but it is a fact that Lincoln was a past-master at the art of playing politics and he played politics throughout his entire administration.

I am afraid the civil service reformer who undertakes to study Lincoln's administration will find very little comfort. Political assessments were levied with absolute regularity and on one occasion a delegation went over from New York to present to the Secretary of the Navy the proposition that their committeeman be permitted to stand by the paymaster when he paid the hands at the Brooklyn Navy Yard so that he might get a percentage out of each payment as it was made. Appointments were made to influence legislation and elections. I believe it is true that hardly an important appointment was made without this being definitely in mind.

The pity of it is that this was unnecessary. Lincoln did not appreciate the hold he had on the people. His humble origin, his unsuccessful career up to that time (having accomplished practically nothing in politics), the glamour of the successes of those whom he had gathered about him, all deceived him as to his own influence. Three weeks before his re-election in 1864 he made up an estimate, which is still in existence, of the probable outcome of the election, in which he gave McClellan 114 votes in the electoral college to 120 for himself, claiming the election by a majority of six. In fact, his majority in the electoral college was 191, McClellan receiving only 21 votes.

Lincoln did not spend his time in running the departments. He did not have an opportunity during the great

war that he was carrying on to develop policies of government except those that were absolutely necessary to the war and they have almost entirely disappeared since the war ended. Even his policy of reconstruction did not outlast his own life.

What Lincoln devoted himself to, the work at once vast and difficult which no one else could do, was to keep with him all the people who were willing to fight to save the Union; the Radicals, the Conservatives—indeed, it made no difference to him what a man's party affiliations were, what his beliefs were on any of the great questions then before the country—the plain people who had to fight the battles, who had to send their sons, fathers and brothers into the army: they were the people whom Lincoln was keeping with him and everything that he did throughout the whole period of his administration was with direct reference to the opinions of these people whom he profoundly understood. To them he gave the eloquence of his pen. To them he gave his humor. To them he gave his power of intellect, his knowledge of politics and the sureness of his judgment. Above all he gave his inexhaustible patience.

In holding the great body of the people true to the cause of the Union through the disasters and reverses of the protracted struggle, his accessibility to each and all who had a claim to approach the head of the Government, particularly with reference to the exercise of the pardoning power, made his personality and his sympathy known to great numbers in all classes of the community, and in all sections of the country from which the great armies had sprung. This was an aside in the direct conduct of the great business of the departments. It hampered them at times, to the intense dissatisfaction of the officials. But it eased the public mind, to which the Government was an abstraction, gave an assurance of a personal interest in the affairs of individuals, and

removed grievances that would have found more serious vent in the blocking of measures harsh perhaps but necessary to the prosecution of the war. This, too, has given rise to the flood of anecdotes not nearly so apocryphal as their very multitude would indicate. It was, too, the source of much of Lincoln's knowledge of the probable effect of measures under consideration by the cabinet, more especially as it had always been his habit to cultivate an intimate acquaintance with the people among whom he traveled in his circuit-riding from court to court. It was not an abstract study of humanity but personal contact with men from day to day that gave to Lincoln his great knowledge of his fellow men and strengthened his hands in the hour of trial. It was no less effective with those whose public station made their support vital to his cause than it was with the men in private life, as when he "plowed around" a governor who was disposed to be obstreperous, and won him completely to his support, all the time afraid that the governor would find out what he was doing.

I once received a letter from a man of more insight, perhaps, than skill as a speller, addressed to me at the "Patient Office." Lincoln was surely the head of a patient office. Some thought he was wasting his time and strength. Welles sets it down as one of his infirmities that he spent three-quarters of his time seeing all sorts of people. But Lincoln knew how to make a friend of every one who came, and every friend returning home made friends for him and for the great task which all were engaged upon. Easy-going, unmethodical and self-effacing as he was, let any member of his cabinet embark upon a course which he did not think would meet with approval in the field or the homes which had sent the soldiers to the war, and instantly it was made apparent that Lincoln had a will and an iron hand to enforce it. Alonzo Rothschild collected a whole book full



of incidents illustrating his mastery where he chose to control. And the great commanders felt it too. His universal remitting of the death penalty for desertion was as much a matter of policy as of kind-heartedness. For he knew that public sentiment would not endure putting our own soldiers to death.

His many jests interested the troops who were in dire need of amusement and sometimes prepared their minds for great changes. Among the most useful in the latter way were those directed against McClellan, to whom the Army of the Potomac in spite of his shortcomings was warmly devoted. I have selected these:

In the long winter of inaction, 1861-1862, Lincoln, his patience fairly exhausted, said that if General McClellan did not wish to use the army he would like to borrow it.

Later on when McClellan was on the Peninsula and was declaring that he had only 50,000 men with their colors when Lincoln knew that 160,000 had been sent, he said that "Sending men to that army is like shoveling fleas across a barn floor; not half of them get there."

And while visiting the army two weeks after Antietam, he described it with bitter indignation as "General McClellan's bodyguard."

He accepted McClellan's arrogance and assumption of superiority without resentment. "I will hold McClellan's horse," he once said, "if he will only bring us success."

Yet he knew the importance of not being overshadowed. He used every device which kindness, wisdom and humor could suggest to increase his hold upon the army. He visited camps, he went through hospitals, he listened to every mother who had a tale of woe to tell. Above all things he gave the army and the generals the largest measure of support which he could command. Just before McClellan's final removal, Lincoln made this statement:



"I am now stronger with the army of the Potomac than McClellan. The supremacy of the civil power has been restored, and the Executive is again master of the situation. The troops know that if I made a mistake in substituting Pope for McClellan, I am capable of rectifying it by again trusting him. They know, too, that neither Stanton nor I withheld anything from him at Antietam, and that it was not the administration, but their own former idol, who surrendered the just results of their terrible sacrifices and closed the great fight as a drawn battle."

With a single sentence of his war speech at Gettysburg he brought into the heart of every man in the army a fresh oath of devotion to duty. That speech made almost no impression at Gettysburg, but it went through the armies all over the United States like wildfire. It was short, simple, true, earnest. Little slips could be printed with it and passed around by the tens of thousands. It was read everywhere. This is the reason why that speech got and has retained such a firm hold upon the people of this country.

The great illustration of how he followed practically his personal judgment as to the wisest policy was his treatment of slavery. No one can read his ante-bellum speeches without realizing that while he was musing about this question the fire burned, and his heart was hot within him. If he could have done so, he would have struck down slavery with a blow. "If slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong," was one of his declarations. Yet, at the opening of the war he took the opinion of the Union men in the border states as his guide, and he enforced his judgment upon Fremont and Hunter with the same inexorable power with which he controlled Seward and Stanton and Chase. His judgments were just for he sought not his own will. What he sought was the most widely effective public opinion. He was convinced that the maintenance of the Union had a wider appeal than

the suppression of slavery, and he would, before the Emancipation Proclamation, have consented to restore the Union without first wiping out slavery.

In his letter to Greeley, often published, under date of August 22, 1862, he wrote: "As to the policy I seem to be pursuing, as you say, I have not meant to leave anyone in doubt. I would save the Union. I would save it the shortest way under the Constitution. . . . If there be those who would not save the Union, unless they could at the same time destroy slavery, I do not agree with them. My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and not either to save or destroy slavery. . . . what I do about slavery and the colored race I do because I believe it helps to save the Union, and what I forbear I forbear because I do not believe it would help save the Union. . . . I have here stated my purpose according to my view of official duty; and I intend no modification of my oft-expressed personal wish that all men everywhere could be free."

It was his own policy which found expression in the formation of the Union party and put Johnson, a War Democrat and southern man, in nomination with him in 1864. It was in line with his entire plan to keep working together all those who were willing to help to put down the rebellion. It was politically his crowning contribution to this great and fundamental purpose.

Nor did he ever forget public opinion even in the South itself. Had she not been deaf to all appeal he would have won her. His second inaugural address was written in the very spirit of Saint Paul when he said to the Corinthians: "I will very gladly spend and be spent for you; though the more abundantly I love you, the less I be loved."

I leave to Schurz and Pillsbury, to Nicolay and Hay, to Herndon and Weik and Lamon and the host of others who have written about him the summing up of his character and

achievement. There can be no doubt of his immortality. His position in history is unique. One might as well expect another Bible as another Lincoln. Nor could anyone even for his great fame willingly undergo the tragedy of his life. I do not mean his early struggle upward out of ignorance and dire poverty. Take these statements of his after he had reached the height of his ambition:

"Browning, of all the trials I have had since I came here, none begin to compare with those I had between the inauguration and the fall of Fort Sumter. They were so great that could I have anticipated them, I would not have believed it possible to survive them. The first thing that was handed me after I entered this room when I came from the inauguration was the letter from Major Anderson, saying that their provisions would be exhausted before an expedition could be sent to their relief."

On the day of Lincoln's second election he remarked to John Hay: "It is a little singular that I, who am not a vindictive man, should have always been before the people for election in canvasses marked for their bitterness."

This gentle man was not sent to bring peace but a sword; to bring upon others the perils of the wilderness, the perils of the sea, the weary watchings in hunger and thirst, in cold and nakedness. Upon him came the care of all. The photographs of the actors in that great drama taken at the time all show the marks of care, but none more than his. It furrowed his face. It weakened his frame. It made his sad eyes look sadder. It is a part of our admiration for him that we forget the difficulties which he had to meet, the failures and disappointments to which he had to submit; but as the background becomes confused and fades, the strange, strong face and noble figure come out more plainly on the canvas. That is what is really worth our study, the great and simple man, who, during the terrible years, ran with patience the race that was set before him.

## AN ILLINOIS FARMER DURING THE CIVIL WAR

Extracts from the Journal of John Edward Young, 1859-66

In 1835, when John Edward Young was eleven years old, his parents settled in the southeast corner of what is now Menard County, near Athens. There he lived until his death in 1904, at the age of eighty.

From the first day of January, 1859, until his death, John E. Young kept a daily journal. It is not a record of significant events nor of philosophical meditations. Nevertheless, its homely account of weather and crop conditions and its record of a farmer's daily tasks have sufficient interest and value to warrant the publication of as much of the journal as space will permit.

Even such extracts as are given here, for instance, reveal the difference between the Illinois farm of three-quarters of a century ago and that of today. In addition to the staple crops of the present, Young was raising spring wheat, sugar cane, tobacco and cotton. His sugar cane was made into molasses, his tobacco he seems to have sold to his neighbors for their personal use. The prices he obtained are of no little interest. Corn at \$.75 a bushel would make a modern farmer yearn for a return of the good old days, but chickens at \$1.50 per dozen would probably not be quite so acceptable.

The journal for the period 1860 to 1865 has an added interest by reason of its allusions to Lincoln and to the events of the war. It would be difficult to find a more vivid description of the Republican celebration of August 8, 1860, than that to be found here. And while the author permitted few reflections of his own feelings to find expression in his



pages, nevertheless the terrible strain of four years of war is at least shadowed in the journal. Of course his two trips to the armies in the field contain descriptive material of general significance.

The original journal is in the possession of Dr. Frederick H. Hamil, of Lincoln, Illinois, by whose generous permission the following extracts are published.—Editor.

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Feb. 27. Warm and cloudy the forenoon but turned cold and froze hard at night. Attended church twice today

28th. A most delightful spring like day. The ground was frozen sufficiently hard to bare a team in most places this morning. Shucked and halled in corn. This is the last day of winter and such a winter as has rarely or neaver been experienced in this latitude. It has passed in one continual succession of changes, wet and open weather preponderating. There has been but three days that the thermometer has fallen below zero, while it has often rose to 60 and once to 70°.

The ground has not been frozen more than six inches deep while much of the time it has been entirely free of frost. There has been more than average quantity of rain and but little snow. The roads have been almost impassable the major part of the time consequently active business of all kinds has been at a stand still, those living out from the timber hardly being able to get wood and milling. It has been a very poor winter for social enjoyment yet there has been more weddings than usual. The health has been very good with the exception of colds and some cases of scarlet Fever among children. Corn and feed of all kinds has been very scarce and dear. Corn and oats is worth from 50 cts to 75 cts per bushel and Hay \$10 per tone, yet oing to the great abundance of pasture and the mildness of the winter farmers have got their stock along very come-



fortably, some flocks of sheep have not eten a bite of grain this winter and yet have done very well. Pork has sold as high as \$6.50 and beef, \$8 per hundred neet. Financial matters has born heavily on those in debt and all looking forward anxiously to a good crop and better times the comeing year. The continued wet weather has damaged the growing wheat on flat land while that on high dry ground looks quite encourageing. All in all the winter just passed has been one that will not be forgotten soon.

Mar. 28. It rained at intervals through the night and almost incessantly through the day. The whole face of the earth is covered again with mud and water. The prospect for farmers on flat land is certainly very discourageing. Spent part of the day in halter breaking colts. Went tonight with sister to Edgar Kincaids to set up with a sick child.

May 4. Another soaking rain last night accompanied with tremendous thunder. The streams are all flooded and some of the bridges are gone. The prospect for a corn crop is exceedingly gloomy for those that have flat land to farm. Cleaned out our stables, topped some hedge the forenoon and went to the timber for wood in the evening. Sold Johnson's three stears this morning at \$30 per head.

May 14. Finished planting fifteen acres more corn to-day. The forepart of the day was pleasant but afternoon was dark and showery. The painful fact is becomeing more and more apparent that there is a scarceity of bread stuffs in the country. The scarceity of grain and the recent news from Europe has raised the prices of provisions very rapidly the past few days.

May 31. Clowdy and damp this morning, cleared away about 10 o'clock. Replanted corn in my sod the forepart of the day and plowed corn, the afternoon the ground is in fine condition and corn is growing rapidly. This is the last day of the spring of fifty-nine and long will it be remem-

bered for its continued wet weather and the impatience and harrassing anxieties that it has entailed upon the farmers and business men of our country. After the experience of last season all classes were unusually sensative and solicitous upon the subject of the comeing crop. Although the spring opened up early and favorable yet April and May has been very wet preventing a large bredth of wet land from being planted in proper time. Farmers have worked with an energy and determination and in spite of all drawbacks there is now growing the largest crop of corn that has ever been planted in our state. It has come up well and is growing finely and is full two weeks earlier than usual. There is still some planting on the wet lands. Winter wheat is nearly all chep. There is some good pieces of spring wheat and oats but where old seed was sowed the crop is very unpromiceing, it having been heated in the bins during the wet weather of last summer. There is an immense quantitie of Hungarian grass being sowed, the seed is selling as high as \$5.00 per bus. Vegatables are all doing well. Health has been very good notwithstanding the continued wet weather and unusual amount of hard work.

June 13. Cool and cloudy. Went to Springfield today took some wheat got \$1.25 per bus. found the roads good in the morning but slippery and muddy in the evening, it having rained about noon. Trade tollerably lively.

June 24. A light shower of rain this morning otherwise the day has been fine. This is the day for the examineation and close of the North Sangamon Academy. There is some five hundred persons present and all the exercises passed off pleasantly and agreeably. These consisted of the examinations of the various classes, the reading of two manuscript papers, one by the boys, the other by the girls interspersed with vocal and instrumental music. At noon the company

sat down to a sumptuous dinner prepared by the friends of the school.

July 22. Stacked our Oats cut some timothy seed and finished up our harvest gennerally. There is some through harvesting but in the main there is much grain and grass out yet. The weather has been very fine for harvest work although last week was very warm The result of the present crop so far as can be judged is satisfactory in the main. Fall wheat a half crop spring wheat was not sown largely but the crop is good Oats superior in yield and quality but a small crop sowed. Meadows unusually fine all of which has been gotten up so far in first rate order.

Aug. 16. This is the day appointed for a union sabbath school celledration at Athens. The day has been all that could be desired and has passed off pleasantly and creditably to all concerned in its festivities. Five schools with their Superintendents—teachers friends and a large number of citizens from the surrounding country (some five or six hundred in all) met in a delightful grove just south of the town at 10 o'clock A. M. The exercises were commenced by prayer by Rev. Goodpasture<sup>1</sup> of Sandridge followed by singing (all the schools joining), accompanied by a melo-dion. Rev. Mr. Pinkerton<sup>2</sup> of Petersburg made the first address on the beauty and worth of the bible. then music again after which J. H. Matheny of Springfield made a first rate offhand speech eulogiseing sabbath schools and those engaged in them. Music again after which there was a recess for an hour for refreshments Families cooked and brought their own dinners and some for friends and there was an abundance for all. At the expiration of the hour the assembly came together again. After the singing

<sup>1</sup> A. H. Goodpasture, a Cumberland Presbyterian.

<sup>2</sup> J. A. Pinkerton, pastor of the Presbyterian church of Petersburg, 1857-70.

of a hymn Prof. D. J. Strain<sup>3</sup> made a capital speech to sabbath school teachers followed by one from Rev. Mr. Goodpasture to sabbath school schollars. Music again after which Mr. John Hill of Petersburg addressed the assembly on behalf of the ladies mount Vernon association at the conclusion of which Rev. Mr. Lane of Athens made a few valedictory remark and the exercises of the day was closed with the benediction.

This day has been to all who have enjoyed its festivities one of the bright spots in the voyage of life. One of the pleasant pages in life's history that we will love to refer back too and read again in fancy when the present is numbered with the years that are gone. Oh that we could have more of the friendly and brotherly reunions how they would smooth many of the rugged places in the pathway of life.

Aug. 17. Dry and warm. commenced cutting our Hungarian grass which is not so stalky and heavy as last year but will make better hay. It is fairly demonstrated this season that this grass will not suceed on wet swampy land nor is it a sure crop sowed late To insure success it should be sowed early and on high dry land If so farmed it is sure and as profitable a forage crop as farmers can cultivate. Much of that sowed this season has proved a failure in consequence of late sowing on unsuitable ground.

Sept. 6. Pleasant. Mary and I went to Springcreek on a visit. Passed a railroad train off the track just in the suburbs of Springfield caused by running over a horse. We found the roads good and our friends well.

Sept. 7. Stayed at Mrs. Ernests today weather clear and pleasant. The crops in Sangamon County are only tollerably fair. Wheat a poor yield. Oats and corn only moderately good and hay a full crop.

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<sup>3</sup>First principal of the North Sangamon Academy, a secondary school erected in 1856.



Sept. 1. Cool and pleasant went to town found the roads very good trade tollerably lively sold our peaches for \$1.75 Pears \$1.50 and Potatoes \$1.00 per bushel groceries and goods is reasonably cheap. There is a good share of improvement going on in town. Quite a number of fine three-story houses are going up while the street improvements in the way of drains and planking is extensive.

Sept. 17. Cloudy and threatning rain toward the west at daylight with rain in the evening. Halled two loads of rails the forenoon and repaired a plow in the evening. Father went to Petersburg. Mr. George Powers and Nancy Jane Powers & daughter is visiting with us today. Sold them some peaches at \$1.00 per bushel. The cool damp weather that we are having is keeping vegetation green and growing. Corn is soft a severe frost now would nearly ruin it. The potatoe vines are takeing a fresh start and is covered with leavs and blossoms Pastures are good and Vegetables of all kinds is doing well.

Oct. 10. Clear and frosty We finished cutting corn to-day. We have put up 700 shocks all in the best of order. Our crop is an average one and all made its self before frost except about three acres. Although frost delayed his visits later than usual yet there is some corn that it has damaged.

Oct. 31. This is the coldest morning we have had this fall. The<sup>r</sup>. 19° The day has been clear and most delightful halled 134 rails the forenoon and built some fence in the evening. Traded a small beef to Mr. Crisswell in part pay for a milch cow. Sold H Hohemer five bus. of Irish potatoes at 40 cts per bushel. This is the last day of October and seldom have I ever saw a more delightful month of weather. The morning have been frosty the major part of the month while the days have been clear and pleasant and most delightful for all kinds of outdoor work. We have had but

one fall of rain in four weeks, consequently the roads are as hard and smooth as pavements.

Nov. 12. Winter has made his advent again this morning in reality. It has been sleeting and snowing with a freezing northwest wind blowing all day. got our vegetables all housed and secured and finished up some jobs about the house. Halled out some feed to our cattle for the first time this evening. We have grass enough to do our cattle till the first of December if it should remain open and free from snow.

Dec. 23. It has snowed slightly at intervals through the day. Wind from the west Halled feed and worked at my sled. This being the last day of school before the hollidays the exercises were of more than usual interest There was two manuscript papers read and a number of declamations and a literary address at night by Mr. Crisswell. The attendance was full. Mr. Aylesworth Caleb Stone Robert Gillmore Mr. Nance & Simpson ate supper with us.

Dec. 26. Kirk and I went to Springfield in the buggy. Roads icy. It thawed smartly in the afternoon but the wind is in the north. Settled our store account with John Williams<sup>4</sup> and had a balance to our credit of \$12.80. Deposited \$213 with him.

Dec. 31. Ther. 12° below zero at daylight with a keen northwest wind. It froze very hard last night. Cleaned out our stables and looked after our stock. Some of our borders got in again this evening. This is the last day of 1859. In some respects the year that is just bidding us adieu has been a remarkable one. The weather for January and February was warm and open the thermometer touching zero but three times in the two months while the major part of the time the

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<sup>4</sup>John Williams, pioneer merchant of Springfield, conducted a private banking business in connection with his store, and was one of the organizers of the First National bank, which opened for business May 1, 1864.



ground was not frozen sufficiently hard to carry a team. The spring was very wet and cold which greatly enhanced the farmers labors in planting and tilling his crop yet so great was the anxietie and necessitie to have a good crop that all hands went to work with an energy and determination that over came all discouragements and the result was a fair average crop of all kinds of farm products. Corn suffered some from frost and drouth but was a good crop. Wheat was very fine grained but not an average crop it being one-fourth cheet. Hay was unusually good and mostly secured without rain. Health has been good. Financial matters has not materially improved money is scarce and stock and articles of trade has ruled low Corn and feed early in the season was scarce and dear—corn sold from 50 cts to 75 cts per bushel hay \$10—per tone— Since harvest wheat has sold for 50 to 75 cts Pork brought about 4 cts gross and beef 2½ cts gross per pound. The year just closed has been distinguished for the changeableness of the temperature. There has been frost in all the summer months that of the fourth and fifth of June was very severe in many parts of our country killing wheat corn and fruit. Again on the fourth of July there was quite a frost also in August and the third of September there was frost. In contrast with this we have had some unusually warm weather the mercury riseing to 100 degrees on several days. The night of the 27th of August has been made memorable by the appearance of one of the brightest most beautiful and extensive Auroraborelis' that has ever been observed. It commenced immediately after dark and continued through the night. The whole northern half of the heavens was lit up with long diverging streaks of the most beautiful variagated light. This year has been fruitful in storms that which passed through the northern portion of our state was very distructive utterly destroying several villages and ruining crops and killing and maiming a large number of persons.

Jan. 17. [1860]. It froze hard last night but thawed some through the day. Went to Springfield with marketing got 8 cts per lb for Turkeys \$1.50 per dozen for chickens. Trade tollerably lively. Roads rough in the prarari but fine in the timber.

Jan. 22. A most delightful and spring like day with a clear warm sunshine and balmy south wind. Heard a sermon on the subject of building a new meeting house the text was the 1st chapter of Haggar congregation large and attentive. Went to Athens at night herd a sermon from the 9..10..11 verces of the 14 chapter of Revelations. The church was crowded and some disorderly conduct prevailed among the low and vicious part of the congregation. The roads are smartly improved since last night the water having measurably disappeared and the mud settled.

Feb. 1. The<sup>r</sup>. 4° below zero but calm. Went to the timber with both teams and halled rails. found the roads very rough Heard the fireing of cannon at Springfield this evening rejoicing as I suppose at the election of a speeker of the house of representatives at Washington.<sup>5</sup>

Feb. 15. The snow is about four inches deep this morning. Went to the church meeting this forenoon. The comitty reported the cost of a new House and their report was accepted. It was voted to donate the old house to the academy if a new one can be built. It was determined to make an effort for a new house and a subscription paper was gotten up and those present subscribed about \$1500 Committies was appointed to canvass the neighborhood and solicit donations Halled litter out of our stables in the evening Heard of the death of Uncle William Young. He died the 1st day of February.

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<sup>5</sup>On Feb. 1, 1860, William Pennington of New Jersey was elected Speaker of the House of Representatives after a contest of several weeks' duration.

Feb. 20. Commenced thawing early with a warm south wind blowing Hauled 134 rails from Tices and got in a load of corn in the evening. Levi Cantrell Sr. died today at noon.

Mar. 8. Still pleasant and warm. Worked in the timber today. The examination of the Schollars in the academy commenced today. The examination well attended by the friends of the school some of which is staying with us to-night.

Mar. 9. Froze slightly last night with the wind strong from the northwest. The exhibition of the schollars in the academy came off today. The program was first singing and prayer the original declamation by 7 of the young gentlemen & essays by five of the ladies interspersed with vocal and instrumental music. The performance was creditable There was a perfect jam of spectators present.

Mar. 20. There is a frosty disagreeable north wind blowing this morning. Commenced sowing our spring wheat. Sold Will Johnson five bushels of potatoes at 30 cts per bus. Heard of Govener Bissel's death. He died the 18th of Pneumonia. He will be buried tomorrow with civic and millitary honors. In his death Illinois has lost one of its best men.

April 2. There was quite a frost last night and the ground was frozen hard. Wind from the south. Kirk and I went to Petersburg to the county Republican convention. Four delegates was appointed to represent this county in the state convention at Decature The boys plowed sod and father went to Halls for sweet Potatoe seed.

April 27. There is a very severe frost this morning and freshed plowed ground is smartly frozen Ther. 24°. Spring wheat and oats with all tender vegetation is frosted. Notwithstanding the early and favorable opening up of spring

the season is now as late as any we have had for several years passed. The continued cool dry and windy weather and frosty nights has kept the grass short and all kinds of vegetation is backward. Our stock eats foder with a relish. Finished planting corn at the upper farm and completed breaking up and marking of our old field next the grave yard.

May 14. Very dry and warm. We are needing rain very much just now indeed we are suffering the blighting effects of drouth and unless we have rain soon and that bountifully it will be a serious matter with the agricultural interests of our country. Some of the corn crop has to be replanted entire it having perished while the recent planting is lying in the ground dry and unable to germinate. Meadows and pastures are short and stock water is becoming scarce. Halted out the last of our feed this morning. Attended to various jobs about the farm the forenoon and commenced planting our last piece of corn in the evening. Mr Crisswell ate dinner with us today.

May 19. Still cloudy and promising rain. Repaired fence the forenoon and dressed up some lumber for picture frames in the evening. Heard of A Lincoln nomination by the Republican convention at Chicago as their candidate for the presidency. This nomination is certainly very flattering to our state pride and creditable to the good sense and wisdom of the convention and one that I think will with a little earnest effort succeed.

May 31. Cool enough for coats the forenoon. The prospect for rain is gone and with it the hopes for a hay crop and for the wheat and oats. The late planted corn is not coming up and much of it will be replanted yet if it should rain soon. Pastures are parched and sear and stock water is nearly exhausted. Never since the settlement of our state has there been so long and severe a drouth so early in the season. There has not fallen in our neighborhood since the



1st of March sufficient rain at one time to wet the ground furrow deep.

This day closed the spring of 1860 and long will it be remembered as among the most remarkable that we have had. It opened up most delightful and farmers got to work early. The spring grain was all sowed by the middle of March and the major part of the corn was planted by the first of May. The first planting came up well and has done finely but those who planted later and did not cover deep has had to plant over. There has been no rain since winter broke so that at this time we are suffering with drouth. The meadows are nearly a total failure spring wheat and oats are very short. Pastures are dry and scorched and water is scarce.

June 7. Another delightful day. The boys plowed and Kirk and I cut back our hedge. The wheat is improveing in appearance and bids fair to make a tollerable crop. Pastures would be the better of more rain Mrs. Smith and Mrs. Stewart visited our folks today. This is the day for the Lincoln ratification at Springfield. A number of the neighbors have gone to attend it.

June 22. The<sup>r</sup> 84° and very dry. The summer term of the academy closed today. The exercises were of the usual character and passed off pleasantly and satisfactorily. Dr Brown<sup>6</sup> of Springfield gave a lecture at the close of the examination which was listened to with close attention and was well received. The next term commences the third of September.

June 26. The<sup>r</sup> 90° with a scorching sunshine cut wheat and plowed corn we are suffering from an unprecedented drouth and unless we have rain soon it will be a serious matter to stock raisers and farmers. Water is nearly done and

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<sup>6</sup>The Rev. John H. Brown, D.D., pastor of the First Presbyterian church of Springfield, 1856-64.

pastures are parched and dead. Corn seames to be doing well as yet. Malinda Kincaid ran off with C. M. Green last night and is likely married ere this. Heard of Brackenridges nomination by the seceding states at Rechmond. The democratic party is completely divided and disorganised. With a little perseverance and prudence I think we will secure a Republican president this time.

July 20. Ther 98°. This has been the most intensely hot day we have had and but for a pleasant southwesterly breeze would have been insufferable. Everything that has animal life has suffered from the heat and thirst and vegetation is wilted and curled as if a symoom had passed over the land. Water is about as scarce as it has ever been in our neighborhood and unless it rains soon this drouth will be a serious thing in these parts. It is lightening in the north tonight and we hope for rain before morning. Father and I went to the timber and the boys mowed and put up hay.

Aug. 4. It rained nearly all night and up to ten O clock this morning. The branches and ponds are full of water and the ground is becomeing finely soaked. Hardly ever has a rain come more opportune or been more genneraly acceptable. It will greatly benefit the corn crop especialy the late planting. It will start the grass afresh and put the ground in condition for plowing and seeding. Stock water will be plenty for a few days at least. Worked on our building the forenoon and went to Athens to the Lincoln meeting in the evening. There was a good crowd out and enthusiasm was to the highest pitch. There was two companies of wide awakes dressed in uniform on parade. A car tastefully ornamented containing thirty three little girls dressed in white with blew scarfs. Also thirty three ladies on horseback tastefully dressed and accompanied by cavaliers. A four horse team decorated and carrying a splendid flag. Waggons buggies Horsemen and footmen with banners and rails and



music. Mr Rosette and C. C. Zane addressed the crowd in daylight and T. P. Cowan J. M. Hurt and Mr. Terrels at night. The speeches were good and well received. The wide awakes had a torch light procession at night. Taking all in all today has been a gala day for Athens.

Aug. 7. Warm and cloudy with a heavy rain a few miles west of us this morning. Finished weather boarding our building and put on a few shingles. The delegations from Mason City and Petersburg to the Lincoln rally at Springfield tomorrow has passed on through the neighborhood this evening.

Aug. 8. A most delightful day. The morning was foggy and cool but cleared up pleasant about seven oclock . Late in the evening there was some appearance of storm but it passed and the night was beautiful. This has been one of the gala days for this part of Illinois. The events and scenes of this day will neaver be forgotten by those who were so fortunate as to have beheld them. The great Republican mass meeting came off at Springfield today and neaver in the history of our country has there been so large and imposing an assemblage of people convened together and all to pass off too without accident or aught to mar the genneral enthusiasm and enjoyment. It would be impossible to convey an addequate idea of the appearance and splendor of the scene. It would have to be seen and contemplated to be properly appreciated. It has been estimated that there was at least one hundred thousand people out. The procession as formed concisted nearly entirely of waggons as it was impossible to get those on foot into it as it was nearly eight miles long. There was three flat boats one from Petersburg one from Richland and one from Green county. A log cabin A rail pen. A platform seventy feet long drawn by twenty two yoke of oxen on which a number of occupations was practicaly represented. A blacksmith a tinner a

carpenter a saddler a waggonmaker a spinner and weaver a shoemaker a tailor a school teacher and lastly a rail splitter was all at work at there several vocations. This was from Williamsville and was a splendid affair. A very large waggon and platform upon which was a steam engine spinning machine and loom in actual operation This was from Springfield. A wagon with rails cut and a man asplitting rails A waggon containing the household goods of an early settler eight splendidly ornamented cars drawn by four and six horses each containing thirty three ladies or small girls representing the different states and two with a lady rideing by herself representing Kansas with the moteo "They wont let me in" Waggon and carriages innumerable eight or ten brass bands and a large number of millitary bands with banners mottoes and flaggs in great profusion A band of Indians representing the Boston tea party. This was a strikeing representation of Indian life and customs. As many of this vast crowd as could get to the fair ground got there about 1 oclock and the speaking commenced at four different places and was kept up til a late hour when all went back to town to see and participate in the enjoyments of the evening. There was the most magnifficent torch light procession ever witnessed in our state there being more than four thousand wide awakes in procession all dressed in uniform and carrying lamps and elivened by numerous musical bands. The display of fireworks was magnifficent consisting of rockets illuminated balloon roman candales and transparencies The public buildings and a great many privet building was finely illuminated. There was speeking at the wigwam interspersed with some of the best song singing I ever heard. The festivities of the day was closed about twelve o'clock at night and the vast croud dispersed peaceably and quietly to their homes in the country and others to the cars at the different stations and

to the lodging places provided for them among the citizens of the town. The speakers were Trumbull Kellogg Gillespie Doolittle Palmer Oglesby Willson Ferree Cowan Koerner Browning Case Linegar and many others.

Aug. 18. Clear and very warm we are suffering for rain again. Stock water is done and vegetation is wilted and parched. Went to the timber and chopped and brought home two loads of lath timber. The sorethroat or some similar disease has attacked our cattle some three or four head has it and the disease is prevailing on other farms in the neighborhood. The symptoms are a soreness of the tonsils and tongue with a tough saliva flowing from the mouth a red inflammatory appearance of the nose and udder a slow stiff staggering gait and general debility and weakness.

Aug. 27. The 87° with a parching and withering sunshine. I worked at our hay and the boys helped Johnsen's thresh. Father and Uncle Andrew went to Petersburg to hear L Trumbull speak there was a good crowd out. Bought nine bushels of rye from C Paterson for seed. It is clouding up with the sound of thunder and vivid lightning toward the northwest.

Aug. 28. It commenced raining about 10 o'clock last night and rained a real deluge accompanied with terrific thunder and lightning which killed a fine steer for us. The jail at Petersburg was struck and two prisoners injured. The streams are running this morning and all nature animate and inanimate is rejoicing. Seldom has rain been more acceptable to our part of the country. Enlarged and strengthened our dam for holding water and attended to various jobs about the farm.

Aug. 29. Commenced raining last night about dark and rained nearly incessantly all night and up to 10 o'clock today. There was more water fell last night than has fallen at one time for sixteen months. The streams are running

flush and the ground is nearly soaked Stock water will I think will be plenty from this forward. This rain has been the salvation of this part of our country although it has come two late for the early corn which is slightly injured by drouth All hands have been splitting and nailing on laths.

Sept. 1. Clear and delightful. We finished our fall plowing the forenoon and thatched our hay stock with long grass and got our horses shod and I went to Athens the afternoon. There was a melancholy transaction taken place at Athens this evening. A Mrs. Myers has died from poison and from all the circumstances connected with it suspicion attaches strongly to her husband. He has left and from the excited and angry feeling exhibited by the citizens it is well. He would hardly be safe here just now. The matter will be thoraly investigated and the truth elicited if possible.

Sept. 8. Blew up cool early this morning and threatened rain but it passed and cleared up near night. Went to Springfield. Sold some pears at \$2.00 per bushel. Purchased groceries and some finishing material for our house. Found the roads tollerably fair and trade lively.

Oct. 18. Clear and delightful. Father and I went to Springfield for our folks who have been to Indiana on a visit. The boys halled pomekins and gathered apples. The Douglas democracy had a rally at Springfield to honor Douglas who was present and made them a speach. It was a very tame affair.

Oct. 26. Came back to Springfield this morning. Called on A Lincoln found him in the best of spirits. Clowded up and rained a smart shower about three oclock which made the roads very heavy before I got home D. T. Young started home this evening.

Nov. 6. A most beautiful day with a white frost this morning. I halled some pomekins the forenoon and went to Athens in the evening and voted the Republican ticket



throughout. This is one of our Countries memorable days. Its events will fill a page in its history that will remain as long as there is a lover of liberty or a friend of freedom on earth. Today this great nation is to say whether it is for freedom or slavery. The contest between the parties is fierce and determined but the right will prevail. The election has passed off quietly.

Nov. 8. It rained the latter part of the night and up to 10 oclock when it commenced sleeting and snowing, but faired up about noon. Gathered corn all day. The result of the election is certainly knowen. Lincoln is elected President having carried every free state east of the rockey mountains. Yates and the Republican state ticket is elected and the Republicans will have a majority of the legislature which insures the reelection of Trumbull to the U. S. Senate. Such a victory is something to be proud of. It is glory enough for one campaign and is a pleasant panisea for all the defeats and disappointments that we have endured in years that are passed. While the Republicans are jubilant over the result Douglas and his friends are crestfallen and disheartened. He has carried but one state Missouri Neaver has a demagogue been more emphaticaly rebuked.

Nov. 13. Another most delightful summer like day with a balmy south wind blowing Gathered corn all day and looked after our stock which has given us conciderable trouble being unusually vicious and unmanageable. A man to be a stock raiser has to be a perfect drudge and slave and to make it profitable he must let himself down to a level with the ox of the stall or the swine of the gutter. It is an occupation that blunts the finer and more elevated aspiration of our natures It degrades the intellect and debauches the morals by calling into daily exercise the coarser animal qualities of our natures.



Nov. 20. Clear and delightful. This being the day appointed for the Republican jubilee at Springfield most of our folks went there to participate in the festivities. The exercises were mostly at night and consisted of speaking song singing a wide awake torch light procession. A splendid Pyrotechnic display, firing of cannon bonfires and a general illumination of the city accompanied with any amount of enthusiasm and good feelings. The scene was a splendid and most beautiful one and was witnessed by a vast croud of jubilant and delighted spectators. No accident or untoward circumstance happened to mar the enjoyment of the evening. Davis started home today. The panic in financial circles created by the traitorous conduct of two or three of the southern states has extended to our state and just now money matters is in a very unsettled condition. A number of our banks is discredited and the balance is viewed with suspicion.

Dec. 5. Cloudy and cool all day. Father two of the girls and I went to Springfield. We found the roads firm but rough. Trade lively money matters is still unsettled and some branches of trade especialy that of pork is depressed. The State Electors met in town today and cast the vote of Illinois for Lincoln and Hamlin.

Dec. 9. It commenced sleeting and raining early this morning and continued all day with a short interval about noon. The whole face of the earth is in a float tonight with a strong east wind blowing which makes it very disagreeable. Went to church today congregation small. Heard that the disunion troubles at Washington is on the increase. Some of the cabbinet officers from the south has deserted their places.

Jan. 8, 1861. The wind changed to the west and froze hard toward morning. Came home from Buck creek left John very low. Stoped in Springfield a short time and

settled our store account with John Williams and left on deposit with him \$359. The Illinois Legislature organised this morning and adjourned over so as to join in celebrating Jackson's victory at New Orleans in 1815. News from Washington important.

Jan. 11. It was snowing at daylight but cleared up as the day advanced and the sun came out clear and warm. The Rochester friends started home this morning. We spent the day in halling feed and looking after the daily business of the farm. The Illinois Legislature has elected L. Trumbull to the United States Senate again. This is as it should be. Senator Trumbull is one of the best men in our nation being tallented able honest and a gentleman in every respect. It is an honor to be represented in the counsels of the nation by such a man and it is equally flattering to him to be indorsed by such a state as Illinois.

Jan. 23. It was cloudy at sunrise and commenced raining about 11 o'clock and rained all the afternoon. Went to Springfield found the roads rough in the morning but wet and sloppy in the evening. Sold our chickens for \$1.50 per dozen Hides 8 cts per lb and 12 cts per lb.. Paid 8 cts per lb for sugar and 16 cts for coffe.

Feb. 11. It rained at intervals through the night with a shower of sleet in the evening. The wind has blowed a perfect hericane from the southwest all day. The mud is deep and locomotion laborious. It was quite a labor to feed our stock this morning I having the most of it to do myself Repaired some harness. Mr. Service a music teacher and C. Paterson ate dinner with us. Robert<sup>7</sup> & Kirk got home this evening and reports the roads very bad. A Lincoln and suit started for Washington this morning.

Mar. 15. A cool disagreeable day with the south wind blowing. Halled in corn and prepared another cribb. The

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<sup>7</sup>Robert A. Young, a brother.

winter term of the school in the academy closed today The usual examinations were gone through with and at night there was an exhibition consisting of Original essays. Declamations and music. The croud was great and disposed to be noisy quite a number of friends ate supper with us.

Mar. 29. It commenced raining about daylight and rained incessantly up to twelve oclock accompanied with thunder and lightning. The streams are flooded and the bridges are swept away or rendered impassable and the fences along the water courses are carried away. The whole face of the earth is covered with water and the prospect for farming on the flat land is not flattering. There is a large amount of corn in the fields yet which will be seriously damaged.

April 2. The day has proved fine. Went to Williamsville and from thence by the cars to Springfield. The roads are very muddy and the streams flooded. The Sangamon is fuller than it has been for years and is doing much damage to property along its course. The bridge across it on the Alton and Chicago railroad had a narrow escape from destruction on Sunday night from floating drift wood.

April 3. It was cloudy and threatening this morning with some rain late in the evening Came home from Springfield this evening Business is very dull A number of our banks are thrown out by the broakers and are uncurrent. This makes business men catious and suspicious.

April 20. Cloudy and threatening rain again. Finished sowing our oats and spring wheat. This has been an exciting day in our County There has been a genneral ralley at Petersburg for the purpose of enlisting volunteers for the support of the government. A full company was made up and will start for their destination on Monday. There was a number of patriotic speeches made the enthusiasm unbounded and the war fever at fighting pitch.

May 25. It has been oppressively warm today the thermometer rising as high as 85° in the shade. I plowed and planted some sugar cane seed the forenoon and finished raking and burning stalks in the evening. Robert helped fix a place for washing sheep.

May 30. It has been pleasant and nice for work. Finished planting our corn crop this forenoon. We have got in about 65 acres and all in good order. Part of our crop is large enough to plow. Although the season was unfavorable at the start yet with a few more pleasant days the farm lands will all be in crop again. Wheat is uncommonly fine and fruit of all kinds is very promising. Pastures were never better and stock looks very well. Taken altogether our state is in a flattering condition as respects the growing crops.

June 5. Clear and pleasant. We have been shearing sheep. Our flock is in good condition and the wool heavy and fine. Sold 15 head of mutton sheep to a Chicago dealer at \$2.50 per head.

June 26. There was a fine rain last night which was very much needed. Everything is revived and rejoicing this morning. The day has proved cool clear and pleasant. The summer term of the school in the academy closed today. The exercises were of the usual character. The crowd was large and everything went off well. James Stone Will Colby John Simpson and a Mr. Humphreys took supper with us.

July 20. Another warm day. Father and I plowed and hewed our sugar cane and the boys mowed and put up grass. I went to Athens in the evening. Sold some broken bank money at 35 cts to the \$

July 23. Clear and warm. Mowed grass the forenoon and finished getting up our hay this evening. We have



secured more hay this harvest than ever before and in better order. Father went to Petersburg and paid our taxes. They were \$70.00. Heard the unwelcome news that our troops have been repulsed at Manassas after a desperate fight.<sup>8</sup> This is bad but no one should be discouraged.

Aug. 2. The<sup>r</sup> 92° and calm and suffocating. Tended to some minor jobbs about the farm in the morning and went to Athens to a picnic in the afternoon. This social gathering was gotten up by the goodtemplers. The exercises were appropriate consitsing of Procession, Singing, Prayer, speeking and instrumental and vocal music. Parties took provisions and refreshments with them and enjoyed them in true Picnic stile. The crowd was creditable and the enjoyment as good as could be expected concidering the torred state of the weather.

Aug. 14. Clear and pleasant with the wind northeast. Sister and I went to Buck Creek on a visit to our friends there. Found them well. Roads good and traveling pleasant. Heard today that our troop under General Lion has had a desperate fight with the rebels at Springfield Missouri. The federalists was victorious but they lost General Lion<sup>9</sup> and about four hundred men. The rebbels lost there camp and a large amount of war material and near two thousand men.

Aug. 15. Clear and warm. Spent the day with our friends. Crops in Sangamon and Christian counties looks promiceing but needs rain very much.

Aug. 16. It is clear and quite warm. Came home this evening. Stopped in Springfield three or four hours. Business lively and the town full of people and teames. The

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<sup>8</sup>The battle of Bull Run was fought July 21, 1861.

<sup>9</sup>Gen. Nathaniel Lyon attacked the Confederates on Aug. 10 and was killed in the battle which ensued. The Federal forces lost 1,317 killed and wounded, the Confederates 1,230. The battle is considered a Confederate victory.



Menard company of soldiers went up to camp Buttler yesterday. This company numbers about 90 men.

Sept. 13. Cool and cloudy at daylight commenced raining about eleven and continued raining gently all the afternoon. Father & I went to Springfield with fruit got \$1.25 per bus. for Pears and 60 cts for Peaches and 30 for Apples. Trade is pretty lively and people are beginning to gain confidence in each other and look to the future with more confidence.

Oct. 3. Cloudy with quite a shower early this morning. Cut corn in the afternoon. Father has gone to Springfield with our wool. Sold J. Williams a beef for \$28--

Oct. 4. Damp and showery all day. Put up a few shocks of corn in the morning and attended to gathering up and securing our apples the latter part of the day. Father got home from Springfield. Our wool averaged four pounds to the fleece and we got 30 cts per lb. for it. At that price for wool sheep is the most profitable stock that farmers can have off of 123 head sheep we have realised within the year \$185 in gold. We raised our number up to 165 head.

Oct. 16. It was cloudy and misting rain this morning and the day has been dark and threatning. Finished threshing our wheat. We had 205 bus of wheat and 24 bus rye. Our wheat is no 1st and yielding 21 bus per acre. Got a load of Apples at 15 cts per bus. 10 bus at 30 cts and 14 bus at 50 cts. Henry Fulton was buried in our grave yard this afternoon. The funeral was very large. Went to Athens in the evening for our molasses and brought home 100 gallons of no 1st

Oct. 22. Cool and cloudy. Went today with Dr. Sudeth to Mason County to see about our hogs that are feeding there. We found to our dismay that the colera has broken out among them. Several of the lot has died and others has it. This is unfortunate and will be a serious loss on all con-

cerned as we will have to sell them immediately for just what we can get. Father and Robert dug potatoes and gathered apples.

Oct. 23. It froze smartly last night but the day has been fine. Went back to Mason this morning and sold our hogs in connection with the rest of the company to C. R. Pierce at \$2.25 per hundred gross. We sold but 15 out of 25 head. They averaged 233 lbs. This is a hog speculation over the left. Father & Robert dug potatoes and sold Mrs. Stone 7 bus. at 25 cts per bus. Herd today that Col. E. D. Baker<sup>10</sup> was killed recently near Washington in a battle with the rebbles.

Nov. 5. A very fine day for business. Worked on the road the forenoon and went to Athens to the election the afternoon. There is but very little interest manifested in this election. Our people have something else to think about than partisan politics. In many places party lines are discarded and good men of all parties unite in support of men for office of true patriotism and fidelity irrespective of former party predilections but there is still some miserable demagogues that are trying to keep up party distinctions and prejudices and who would rather see this great nation rent and torn asunder by internal domestic traitors than to abate one iota of their former party prejudices and bitterness. Got a letter from a young man in the army giving us some additional information concerning Kirk. He says he saw him in the army at St Louis and apparently in sane mind.

Nov. 12. The morning was warm and cloudy and promising rain but the afternoon was clear and warm enough for mid summer. This part of our state is beginning to feel the effects of drouth very sensibly. Water is becoming scarce and wheat and pastures are looking dry and parched. So long and continued a spell of dry warm weather so late

<sup>10</sup>Edward Dickenson Baker, one-time resident of Springfield, was killed in the Battle of Ball's Bluff, Oct. 21, 1861.

in the season is unusual. I dont think that I have ever seen so fine a fall for business. This in itself has been very favorable to the labouring and business interests of our state as it has enabled us to get along comeftorably with our business with the greatly reduced number of hands caused by the demands of the army. Halled two loads from the timber today. Paid John Tice \$20.18 cts in full for rails purchased of him.

Nov. 28. A cool damp south wind blowing this morning. Went to church and heard a most excellent thanksgiving sermon full of patriotism and true christian centiment. The congregation was very large and enthusiastically attentive and asenting nearly unanimously to the spirit of the sermon. This day has been very generally observed by all classes in accordance with the Governor's Proclamation. George Grayham and H B Rankin eat supper with us. H. Rankin paid me \$3.00 for Hungarian grass seed I sold him last spring.

Dec. 20. The weather changed last night and the wind is sharp from the north this morning. The day has been cold and the night bids fair to be winterish. Gathered three loads of corn. Mrs. Powers call this morning. H. Colby and John Purcupile is staying with us tonight. Heard a good lecture tonight from R. A. Crisswell subject Tobacco its use and pernicious effects upon those that use it. The house was well filled and the audience in the best of humor.

Jan. 16, 1862. Ther. 13° below zero. Halled feed and looked after our stock. Went to Athens to attend the annual meeting of the Athens Bible society. There was so few members present that there was not a quorum present consequently there was no election of officers. the old board will have to serve.

Jan. 17. It thawed smartly today and the night is dark and cloudy and inclined to storm. Went to Athens to a tem-

perance gotten up by the good templers. There was a large crowd out and the exercises were appropriate and entertaining.

Feb. 7. It froze hard last night and the day has been raw and disagreeable with the wind northeast and bodeing more storm. We have done little else than keep up the chores. They are firing cannon at Springfield tonight rejoicing doubtless at the success of our armes in some engagement with the rebbles.

Feb. 8. About two inches of snow fell last night and the day has been winterish. Finished the railing and latice work about our porch. Have heard this evening that the Illinois' troops under Gen. Grant has taken Fort Henry on the Tennessee river and that reinforcements are being pushed forward from Cairo to follow up this success with other and more decissive results. Cannonading was heard again tonight at Springfield rejoicing doubtless at some decissive achievement of the Federal armes.

Feb. 17. A clear and beautiful winter day Thawed some in the afternoon, went to the grove for wood the forenoon and shucked corn in the evening. Our troops has taken fort Donnelson in Tennessee after a desperate fight. The news of this victory is flying with lightening speed over the land and the people of the north is wild with joy and excitement. A salute was fired at Springfield in the morning and in the evening when the news was confirmed the citizens of Springfield became wild with enthusiasm and so jubilant that they procured a bettery of ten guns from the arsenal and fired the grandest salute every fired in the state. The cannonading lasted nearly an hour. Every body is in good humor and on the quivive and nervously impatient to hear the full particulars. This battle has been fought and won by western volunteers a large majority of whom are



Illinoisans lead by Illinois officers and every loyal citizen of our state feels a commendable pride in the result.

Mar. 11. It froze sharply last night but the day has been clear and warm. Halled in and cribbed three loads of corn the forenoon and tended to various jobbs in the evening. Have heard very exciteing news from the different divisions of our army General Curtis & Segal<sup>11</sup> has had a very severe fight with Price and McCulloch defeating them with great slaughter. The rebbles are falling back from the Potomac and the cost of Georgia and Floriday is now in our possession. There has been fireing of cannon at Springfield and Jacksonville all evening.

April 2. The wind has blowed a perfect gale from the south west today Sold Nute Gents 10 bushels of wheat—5 bus of spring at 60 cts and 5 of fall at 75 cts per bus. Squared our account for halling by me paying him \$1.30 the balance diw him. Received four thousand more hedge plants. Paid \$3 per thousand for them. Halled a load of lumber from the mill and repaired fence in the afternoon.

April 10. Cold and inclined to snow with the wind north. Set hedge plants all day. Have heard today that our army has fought and won at Pittsburg Tennessee the greatest battle ever fought on this continent. The Rebbles under Johnson and Beauregard 60,000 strong attacted our army under Grant on Sunday morning last and fought for two days when our troop routed them completely killing Johnson their commander in chief and from 10 to 15 thousand men.<sup>12</sup> Our loss killed wounded and Prisoners is reported at 15 thousand. This has been a terrible fight and many will be the homes that will be shouded in mourn-

<sup>11</sup>On March 6-8, 1862 the Federal Army under Gen. Samuel R. Curtis, with Gen. Franz Sigel commanding the right wing, defeated the Confederates at Pea Ridge, Arkansas.

<sup>12</sup>The Battle of Shiloh, fought April 6-7, 1862. Federal losses in killed, wounded and missing were 13,047; Confederate losses were 10,699.



ing when the details are fully known. Com. Foot and General Pope has taken Island 10, with its fortifications and armiment consisting of more than 100 cannon a float-  
ing battery a number of transports and immense amount of  
army stores and near six thousand prisoners and that too  
without loosing a man.

April 11. Cloudy and damp with the wind east. Set  
hedge plants the forenoon and made a hot bead and tended  
to other jobbs about the farm in the evening. Some of the  
neighbors have started to the scene of the recent battle to  
help care for the sick and wounded. Raining late in the  
evening.

April 27. A most delightful day. The mud and water  
is drying fast Had a fine sabbath school. Mr. Crisswell  
was not able to preach but we had prayer meeting. There  
was an appointment made for the people of this neighbor-  
hood to get up a lot of hospital stores for the sick and wound-  
ed soldiers and to have them ready by Wednesday next  
when they will be dispatched by messenger immediately to  
the next battlefield.

May 14. It has been cloudy all day and flat land is  
rather wet for working. Wheat, grass and vegetation of  
all kinds is greatly refreshed. Planted our sugar cane seed  
the forenoon and the boys plowed and I prepared the ground  
for sowing our Hungarian grass seed the afternoon. The  
ground is in the very best condition for vegetation to grow  
and the prospect is very flattering for a fine crop of fruit  
and grain of all kinds.

May 30. It has been clear and cloudy alternately all  
day with a very heavy rain about dark. Finished plowing  
fallowon and repaired fence the forenoon and I plowed my  
orchard in the evening. There has been a congregational  
meeting at the church this evening to settle up for the build-  
ing of the new church. There was about \$800 additional

subscription to be raised. This will make the new house cost about \$3,500. A. Anderson and wife visited with our folks today.

May 31. Pleasant. Our new church was dedicated to-day Dr. Bergen<sup>13</sup> preached the dedication sermon at eleven and Rev. Mr. Burch preached at 2 P. M. The congregation was large and attentive. Our new church is a very neat and pleasant building. The finishing is elegant.

June 17. It rained all night and the day proved cloudy with a very heavy rain about two oclock Flat land is submerged and the streames flood full. Went to Athens in the evening and voated against the new constitution. There is coniderable interest manifested in this election and there will be a full vote polled.

June 20. Clear and tollerably pleasant I went to Springfield to see about selling our wool. Found the roads better than I expected. Settled our store account with John Williams. Had \$90 added to our credit. Deposited \$150 with him. The boys plowed. The recent heavy rains has given the weeds and grass a fine start and unless farmers use some extra dilligence the corn crop will suffer damage from this cause.

July 3. This has been day clear and warm with a pleasant breeze gowing I hoed hedge the forenoon and went to Athens in the evening. The news is contradictory and very unsatisfactory from Richmond and the community is worked up to the highest pitch of excitement and anxiety. Some reports have it that our army has been repulsed and others that they met with no serious disaster.<sup>14</sup> The latest dispatches favor the latter report The boys plowed. Mr. Strain and family visited with our folks today.

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<sup>13</sup>The Rev. John G. Bergen, D. D., founder and former pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Springfield.

<sup>14</sup>McClellan's Peninsular campaign was in full force at this time,

July 4. This has been a very pleasant day and our people have nearly universally observed and enjoyed it. There has been Picnics and Barbacues in nearly ever town and neighborhood. Not for many years has this day been observed with such interest and eclate. Young and old rich and poor has clamed and enjoyed a share in its observation. I have been at home attending to the chores while most of the family has taken fourth of July.

Aug. 1. Tollerbly pleasant with some prospect for rain in the evening. Hoed my young walnut trees today.

Aug. 7. Very warm finished cutting grass the forenoon and put up hay in the evening. I had the mysfortune to have the Ague about noon today. Two Miss Claypools is visiting with our folks today. There is scarcely anything thought or talked of but the war. Our state is one vast recruiting camp and it looks as if nearly every able bodied man in some sections of our country will go into the army. There is a terrible drain on the industrial interests of the state and will leave many families comparitively helpless and destitute.

Aug. 14. It was cloudy and damp early this morning but the day has proved tollerbly clear and pleasant. Our neighborhood gave the company of Volunteers made up here a picnic dinner at the North Sangamon Church. There was an immence crowd out and everything went off pleasantly. There was two Companies organised here today. It seames as though all the young men of our County were gowing off to the war. Will Colby, Will Simpson & Ewing Spears is staying with us tonight.

Aug. 18. It was cloudy early this morning and commenced sprinkling rain about eleven and continued damp and threatning all the afternoon. Lester and I went to Tallula to a picnic. The citizens of Clayries Grove gave the volunteer company raised in that vicinity a dinner and

a nice flag. There was a good many people out and everything went off pleasantly abateing the uneasiness caused by the rain. Stayed at Mrs. Simpsons. The boys halled 4 loads of wood.

Aug 27. Pleasant. Lester and I went to a picnic and flag presentation at Antioch. The citizens of that neighborhood gave Capt. Mallories company a flag and dinner. There was a big crowd out and all went off pleasantly. Father & Robert halled wood.

Sept. 3. Clear and cool. This has been a day that will long be remembered by many in our county. Capt. Hurts and Capt. Estills companies left Athens this morning for camp Butler. These companies number full 200 men the flower of our side of the county. There was an immense concorse of people at Athens to see them off and the leaves-taking was solem a effecting. There was 163 waggons and about 700 persons in the company that went up with the boys. The day was pleasant and everything went well. I drove a team and stayed over night with the boys. The scene at the camp was novel and interresting. There is about ten thousand troops and two thousand prisoners here.

Sept. 4. Clear and warm. Came home from camp. Stopped in Springfield. The town was full of people but the unfavorable news from our armies has a depressing effect upon everybody. The last news brings nothing but reports of disasters to our army and gloom and dispondency is everywhere manifested.

Oct. 7. Pleasant with some indications of rain late in the evening. Finished sowing wheat today. Hart Hutchinson was buried in our graveyard this evening. There has been another terrible battle at Corinth. Our forces under Rosecrans and Hurlbut has defeated the Rebbles under Price & Vandoren. The losses is fearfully great especially among the Rebbles. Our neighborhood has just prepared



and sent forward a full suit of Regimental hospital furniture and supplies for the 106th Regiment and a quantitie of Lint and bandages for the wounded at Corinth.

Oct. 24. This morning is black and lowering with a very disagreeable north west wind blowing. It has growen steadily colder all day. Dug and sold R. Winters 16 bushels of Potatoes at 25 cts per bushel. Sold N. F. Stone  $3\frac{1}{2}$  bushels of sweet potatoes at 75 cts per bus. Went to mill in the evening and brought our molasses home we had 133 gallons no first molasses. Will Simpson is staying with us tonight.

Oct. 25. It froze hard last night and the ground is covered with snow this morning and everything looks quite winterish. So severe a freeze has come too soon for many. There is a large amount of sugar cane yet unworked and quantities of Apples ungathered, while winter vegetables are nearly all unhowed. Gathered and sold L. Gibbs 5 bus' of apples N. F. Stone 5 bus and Mr. Price 5 bus at 40 cts per bushel.

Nov. 3. Clear and frosty this morning with a nice day following. Butchered a beef and sold R. Winters 90 lbs at 5 cts per lb. and N. F. Stone 80 lbs at 4 cts. Sold two cows to John Nebo for \$35. Mr. Strains folks and Thomas and James Kincaid and Miss Dolby Spent the evening with our folks.

Dec. 25. It rained without intermission all night accompanied with thunder & lightning. It has rained incessantly all day and the earth is delluged with water and the streams flood full. This is certainly one of the most remarkable christmas days that I have ever saw. It is more like an Aprile day than the twenty fifth of December. The ground has not been froze for a week past and the wheat and grass is green and growing. The day has been totaly unfit for out door work I went to Athens late in the evening. It is



reported that the boys from our neighborhood has had a fight with the rebbles at Jackson. There is great anxiety felt by all as we can get no particulars.

Jan. 3. It did not freeze any last night and the day has been cloudy and warm enough for may. Late in the evening a very dense cloud came up from the west and it commenced raining accompanied with vivid lightning and heavy thunder We are certainly having the most unusual weather for this time of year in this latitude. The ground has not been frozen sufficiently hard to bear up a team in plowed ground and the last ten days has witnessed nearly a continuous rain with the roads nearly impassable and the streams flood full. It is very disagreeable getting feed and stock is not doing well Halled feed and attended to various jobbs about the farm.

Feb. 5. It snowed slightly all night and up to twelve oclock with the wind northwest and cold. Went to Springfield found the roads very rough. Sold our Turkeys at 7 cts per lb. and chickens at \$1.25 per doz' Town full of people trade lively and the prices of most kinds of merchandise fabulously high. Coffe 33 cts sugar 12½ cts per lb. Domestic 45 cts and Calicoe 30 cts per yard.

Mar. 12. It froze hard last night and the day has been clear. We have had several nice days lately and getting around is tollerably passable on rolling land. Butchered and sold Tom Ackleson two hogs. They weighed 326 lbs net at \$3.75 per hund. Broke corn stalks in the evening. There is two cases of small pox about three miles from us one of which has proved fatal.

Mar. 23. It rained tremendously last night and the streames are flood full. This rain settles the business for plowing or sowing any wheat this week. This is particularly unfortunate as it is time wheat was sowed. Farmers are short of help and it is highly important that they com-

mence their spring work early in order that they get their crops in in proper time. Made a long lader and scattered some manure on our meadow.

Mar. 25. It froze severely last night and the day has been cold and raw. I went to Athens for my milling. I dont think I ever saw the roads any worse. The mud is from six inches to a foot deep and froze nearly hard enough to bear nothing but point blank necessity should induce anyone to take a team on the roads. Such uncommon bad weather is very unwelcome to all classes nearly every person is out of wood and many out of feed for their stock and bread stuff for their families and no possibility of getting any of these articles soon. The winter has been unusually severe on the poor and destitute.

April 6. A beautiful day just such as farmers need to get their ground cleaned up for plowing and they have made good use of it. Everybody is busy plowing, sowing wheat and Oats and raking stalks. Halled a load of lumber from the mill and made a hot bead the forenoon and brushed our Oats and broke stalks the latter part of the day.

April 18. Ther. 83° with a scorching sunshine up to four oclock when it clouded up and rained a nice shower accompanied with thunder and lightning. The few warm days we have had has brought vegetation forward finely and after the rain this evening everything looks bright and spring like. Halled feed and plowed, settled our saw mill account with Senaca Winters Dr. \$17.88 Cr. \$16.03

May 26. Clear and warm with some clouds passing at a distance promiceing rain but we did not get any O if we could but have a good rain at this time how it would revive all nature and gladden the hearts of the farmers James Powel of Company K. 106 Ill, Vol, was buried in our graveyard this morning. He was home on furlow and died. Sold

C. R. Pierce 24 Hogs for \$177.32 and one cow for \$32.50. Went to the timber and got a load in the afternoon.

May 29. It rained slightly last night and at intervals through the day with a heavy rain late in the evening. Halled home some corn from Kirks' and set Potatoe and Tobacoe plants. Had our property insured in the Farmers & Mechanics office of Quincy for \$1700.

June 3. Still clear and pleasant. Finished shearing sheep this forenoon. We have put up in fine order two hundred and two fleeces of superior wool We paid six cents a head for shearing Cleveland sheared 69 and Kenn 74. Repaired fence in the evening.

June 12. Clear and intensely warm. Father and I went to Springfield. We took up a lot of sanitary stores and brought home shingles found the roads sollid the town crouded and trade lively. Deposited with John Williams \$1010.

June 29. Damp and showery the fore part of the day but clear in the evening Went to Springfield found there had been but little rain south of us. Crops and garden about town parched and suffering for rain. Town full of people and all anxious and excited about the thousand and one rumers from our various armies.

July 4. A most oppressively hot day. The<sup>r</sup>. 87° with a melting atmosphere. Hoed Tobacoe the forenoon and put our reaper together in the evening. There is news from our armies of much fighting but people has been decieved so often they are slow to believe the reports now. This day has been generally observed and celebrated.

July 7. Still clear and cool being the most delightful harvest weather. Finished cutting our wheat and commenced cutting Nute Gents. There is great news from our armies. General Mead has defeated the rebbles at Getties-

burg Pennsylvania after a terrible battle. Rosencrans has driven Bragg out of Tennessee and last and best of all Grant has taken Vicksburg. The people are perfectly wild with joy at these events.

July 8. Clear and warmer than yesterday. Finished cutting wheat this evening. The news of yesterday is all confirmed and there is one united shout of joy throughout the north at the results. There is an illumination and general jollification at Springfield tonight.

July 25. Tollerably clear and warm. We in common with the rest of the good union folks of our County went to Petersburg to a union mass meeting called to rejoice over our recent victories in Pennsylvania and on the Mississippi and to hear and express the views of the friends of the government. The day was favorable and an immense croud was out. There was speeches made by Mr. Ketchum and Buck of Jacksonville and Gen' McClernard and J. C. Konklin<sup>15</sup> of Springfield. These were all full of patriotic devotion to the country. There was a fine band present which discoursed sweet music at intervals through the day. At night there was a display of fireworks. The rain yesterday was general and the roads are heavy.

Aug. 20. Warm but a pleasant air is stirring. Spent the day at a picnic near Athens. There was a great croud out. There was four Sunday school present. Mr. Paxton, Wallace and Garner of Jacksonville and Mr. Goodpasture, Crisswell and Strain made speeches interspersed with vocal and instrumental music. Everything passed off pleasantly.

Aug. 30. We had a killing frost this morning. It has done immense damage. The corn on low or moist land is ruined and vines, Tobacoe and cotton is all killed. This is one of the greatest calamities that has befallen our state in a long while. Oing to the drouth of the summer we would

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<sup>15</sup>Maj. Gen. John A. McClernand and James C. Conkling, of Springfield.



not have had more than an average crop. With no old corn to go on, If this frost is general and as severe as here we will not have half a crop. I have been very unwell today with billious fever.

Sept. 19. We had another severe frost this morning all vegetation that escaped the other frost is killed by this. So terrible a series of early frosts has neaver been experienced in this part of our State. Full one half of the corn crop is ruined and the ballance is much damaged. We are in a great straight about getting our corn cut up. I am not able to do anything at it and it is next to impossible to find hands to higher. I have been confined indoors with the chills.

Sept. 29. Clear and warm. Father, Mary and I went to Springfield. Sold out our fruit readily at a dollar a bushel. Marketin of all kinds in demand at full prices except apples which is a drug. Received our goverment Bonds. Amount \$3300.

Oct. 2. Cool and raw all day. Father and I went to Springfield. Got a dollar a bushel for Pears & Peaches. Trade lively and prices extravigantly high. Had a return of the chills this evening. I am allmost discouraged with the prospect of getting clear of them. My system is broken down and the least exposure or over exertion causes them to return.

Oct. 14. Tollerbly clear with the wind northwest. Salted our stock and sold some apples and gathered up a load for cider. Have heard that Pennsylvania and Ohio have both gone Union by immense majorities in the recent elections. This is as encourageing to the friends of the goverment as it is dishartning to the Democratic demagogues and traitors amoung us that have been laboring to create revolution among the people of the north and who have been seeking in every possible way to embarrass and injure the goverment and who has encouraged and given all the



aid to their traitorous breathern of the south that lay within their power.

Oct. 15. Tollerbly pleasant. Most of our folks went to Athens to a Union picnic. There was a large croud out and the best of order and good feelings prevailed. Gen. McClernard and Major Hurt made speeches. Every body is jubilant over the recent union triumphs in the late elections. The boys finished cutting corn and I paid them for cutting two hundred shocks. I am sick in bead.

Nov. 26. A nice day being clear and cool. I naled on some shingles and went to the church and heard a good Thanksgiveing sermon. There was a large congregation out at the church and all appeared to appreciate the day and especially the good dinners that it brought. A number of the friends stopped with us. Another great battle has been fought at Chattanooga.<sup>16</sup> No particulars.

Dec. 2. Clear and pleasant. Gathered two loads of corn and made arrangements for butchering our hogs.

Dec. 3. Warm and nice. Butchered 16 hogs. Sold D.I. Strain 799 lbs of Pork at \$5.25 per hundred nett, all hands tired tonight.

Dec. 23. Pleasant with the wind southeast. Went to Springfield to market. Sold 34 Turkeys at 8 cts per lb. and 4 dozen of chickens at \$1.50 per doz. Town full of people and trade active and prices of all things unreasonably high Roads solid but rough.

Dec. 25. Christmas has made it annual rounds and is here again. It has been a very pleasant day and has passed with but little ado, Our Citizens with the exception of the juveniles feel but little inclined to engague in the usual festivities of this day. The pall of sorrow and mourning

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<sup>16</sup>The Battles of Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge, fought on Nov, 24 and 25.

rest upon many once happy homes and the constant remembrance of loved ones now absent and exposed to all the temptations and dangers of war serves to subdue and chasten the gay and exuberant spirit of thousands and again the nearly absolute certainty that there will be a draft for more men to fill up our armies and its near approach has a very depressing influence upon the Spirits of our people. Thousands and thousands of families has furnished as volunteers all the available male force that they could possibly spare and now if the few that has been left is taken it will be the pecuniary ruin of thousand and entail great suffering and sorrow upon the helpless and infirm. I halled a load of wood from the timber. Our hand has gone home.

Jan. 1, 1864. Therm. 23° below zero with a serching wind from the northwest. It ceased snowing about twelve oclock last night and today has been the coldest day that has been in Illinois for 30 years. This has been the most terrible storm I ever experienced. The snow would have been a foot deep if it had lain but it is fearfully drifted and great quantities of sheep, hoggs and fowls of all kinds have perished. Some farmers has lost as high as four hundred sheep. It is almost impossible to leave the fire this morning without being frosted. The boys made out with great difficulty to get feeding done. I shook an hour and a half today which was rather a cool opperation, concidering the season.

Jan. 9. Ther' 7° below zero Ba<sup>r</sup>. 29 Wind Southwest and very chilly. The mercury rose today to 20° above zero the highest it has attained for ten days. The first impressions of the new year is certainly unfavorable Its manners are cold, haughty, imperious and repulsive. It was born in a storm and its form cradled amid frost and Snow with its face disfigured by angry frowns and its breath cold as

that of Boereas. Tended to a variety of chores about the farm.

Jan. 12. Inclined to be cloudy but thawed smartly toward noon. Father & I went to Springfield. Sleighing fine. Sold our Turkeys for 8 cts per lb. Squared our store account with Jno. Williams amount \$77.31 Paid John C. Williams for work \$50.00. Received int. on Bonds \$98.09 and of Kirk \$110. Deposited with J. Williams \$358.09.

Jan. 14. Ther. 24° above zero Bar. 20<sup>20</sup> Wind west and damp the forenoon with snow late in the evening. Delivered our wool at Petersburg today Had 686 lbs. Received for it \$480.20 and \$3.00 for the sacks. Came home through the timber and got a load of wood.

Jan. 29. It was warm and cloudy this morning. About eight oclock there was considerable thunder to the west and we had a nice Aprile shower and it cleared up pleasantly until five in the evening when it clouded up and we had quite a thunder shower The lightening was vivid the thunder heavy with the temperature up to summer heat. Grass and wheat is springing fresh as spring. The contrast between tonight and and this night four weeks ago is so great no one can realise it that has not experienced it. There is a difference of full 90° degrees of temperature. January 11/64 has been one of the most remarkable months that has distinguished any of the latter years. We gathered a load of corn in the morning and I went to Athens for our milling in the evening. Roads almost impassable.

Feb. 1. Cloudy and damp all day I made a wool press for tying up wool and the hand shucked corn and tended to the chors Capt Anderson stoped in on us this evening He and his Reg' has reinlisted and are home on furlows. He looks rather the worse of the ware.

Feb. 22. Clear and warm as mid summer. I went to our Cole bank timber for a load Father & Uncle Andrew

went to Petersburg and paid our taxes. They are oppressively high ours was \$93. Mrs. Higgins was buried in our graveyard this evening and the intelligence has come this evening that J.W. Kincaid died at Memphis on the nineteenth inst. This is sadd and unexpected news to all. The angel of death is abroad in our land and is garnering a rich harvest from among our friends and acquaintance. They are gowing from the rite and the left. The young and the old the noble and the ignoble are being taken. A wail of anguish and sorrow is heard in our land and the ensigh of mourning is seen in our habitations. Surely it is a time for serious solemn thought.

Mar. 11. Still cloudy with a fine mist of rain and snow from the northwest at intervalls through the day. I sowed timothy seed the forenoon and attended the examination of the schollars in the Academy the afternoon. The schollars acquitted themselves with credit and all seemed pleased and satisfied with the performance. Attended a social reunion at Mr. Strains at night. There was a very full attendance out and all seemed to enjoy themselves hughly. H Colby and Wm. Simpson stayed with us tonight.

Mar. 12. Tollerbly clear the forenoon with rain in the evening. Attended the exhibition at the church. There was a great croud out and everything passed off pleasantly The exercises consisted of vocal music—Dialogues—Essays and original Declamations. Ba<sup>r</sup>. 28 90/100 and steady.

Mar. 14. It froze slightly last night and the day has been Cool and cloudy. I took Cap<sup>t</sup>. Anderson to Springfield today We went on horse back the roads being next to impassable for waggons. He leaves on thursday for Louisville I sold a horse today for \$150. Received \$300 more of 5/10 bonds.

April 1. Cool and windy finished sowing wheat the forenoon and sowed oats in the evening. Got a tellegram late



this evening from Nashville Tennessee stating that Capt. Anderson was dangerously sick and wanted some one to go to him immediately.

April 2. Cool and cloudy. Sister Aggnes and I started this morning to go to Capt. Anderson. Left home about four oclock in the morning got aboard the cars at Springfield about ten oclock passed through Decatur, Lafayette and Indianapolis and landed at Louisville at three the next morning. We have had a pleasant and speedy days travel. We have saw a great deal of good country today but a considerable portion of it is not yet improved. The towns throug which we have passed are new and prosperous. Wheat looks fine in the eastern part of Illinois and in Indiana. Feed is scarce but everything speaks of energy enterprise and prosperity.

April 3. Cloudy and damp most of the day. Spent the day in Louisville as we did not get to the cars in time to get aboard. This is Sunday but I have saw but little that looked like it. Business at the levee and railroad stations is carried on just as any other day. This is quite a nice city but it does not look so neet as prosperous as towns on the north side of the river and the manners and customs of the people are essentially different Here we begin to see some of the peculiar influences of slaves. We come in contact with the negro at every turn and one can not help contrasting his slow indolent and spiritless manners with those labourers of the free states who work for a compensation. The whites are not so active and energetic as their neighbors across the river. The city seems to have come to maturity and unless free principals and free compensated labour is permitted to infuse new life and energy into it it will soon be on the road to old age and decay.

April 4. Foggy and damp this morning with occasional showers of rain from the northwest. We passed from



Louisville to Nashville through a rough hilly and poor country. I have saw today for the first time many results and influences of the war. After crossing the Ohio river one comes in contact with millitary rule at every corner Citizens are not at libberty to come and go as they please but are under the necessity of having a pass to enable them to get from one place to another or to carry on any kind of business. Braggs and Buels armies have both traversed this region as the appearance of the land too clearly testifies. The fencing is nearly all distroyed the stock killed or driven off crops all eaten up and many once pleasant and prosperous homes deserted. There seames to be but little life and energy left in this region. There is next to no land being cultivated and how the few inhabitants that are here to live is a mystery to me. We passed several stockades and one regular fort today. There has been several skirmishes and fights along this rout the principal of which was Gallitan Franklin, Cave City, Elizabethtown Bowlinggreen Mumfordsville and Shepherdsville. The railroad has been destroyed in many places and we passed the wrecks of numerous trains that had been burnt We got to Nashville about 5 oclock in the evening and found Capt. Anderson very sick with pneumonia.

April 5.6.7.8. I have spent these four days in Nashville and vicinity. I have been over most of the town and have become quite familiar with many of the more prominent objects of interest in it It is an old well built town with narrow streets and many fine public buildings and ellegant residences around the subburbs. The State house built on a very prominent sight in the Southwest part of the city is the finest building of the kind in the United States It is built of beautiful dove coloured marble through out most of the building is occupied as millitary offices and the yard around it is an almost impregnable fortress. The court

house is a fine structure and is used as barracks for soldiers. The churches are nearly all used for a similar purpose while the college and university buildings are occupied for hospitals. President Polk is buried in his own yard in town. I visited his tomb I also visited Mt. Olivet Cemetery. This has been a beautiful place but like everything else here it shows the dire effects of war. The fence is all burnt from around it and the grounds are used as pasture range for what few poor cattle and horses are left. There is many elegant tombs and monuments erected here prominent among which is General A. S. Johnsons, Gen' Zollicoffers and Dr. Shelys. The Cumberland river is in fine boating order and the Levee presents a lively and animated appearance as government is collecting immense quantities of stores here. There is about twenty five thousand troops here and there is a constant stream of soldiers passing through here some going home on furlow and others going forward to the front. Literally the city is one vast camp and hospital.

April 9. This has been a nice day. I arranged my business as well as I could this morning, and left Nashville in the afternoon for home. I took passage on board the steamer Imperial for Cairo. The capten is no better.

April 10. Clear and cool passed out of the Cumberland into the Ohio and landed at Cairo about 5 oclock this evening. Have had a pleasant trip. The country along the river is of a poor and rugged character. Saw the effects of Forests recent attack on Paduca. One half of the town is in ruins and the remainder greatly injured by shot and shell. The citizens are greatly alarmed today as it is reported that the rebbles are preparing to attack the place again.

April 11. It has been cloudy with showers of rain at intervals all day. Passed up along the Central railroad to Decatur and from thence to Springfield. Have saw a

great deal of good country today and many nice thriving towns. The country from Cairo to Centralia is undulating or broken and covered with timber and abounding in stone coal and lime stone rocks. North of Centralia Prararies predominate and are mostly flat and covered with water at this time Wheat looks well and is largely cultivated. Feed scarce.

April 12. Tollerbly pleasant. Walked home from Springfield this morning, found all well at home, the season late and backward and flat land too wet to farm. Spring grain about all sowed and most of it up.

April 16. Cool and raw with some snow squalls at intervals through the day Shucked a load of corn the forenoon broke some stubbs and finished topping and halling off the toppings of our young hedge. Sister Aggness got home this evening. Cap<sup>t</sup>. Anderson died Tuesday morning and his corps is on the way home.

April 20. A sharp white frost this morning with a clear warm day following just such as we all want at this time to bring forward the grass and spring grain. Attended the funeral of Cap<sup>t</sup>. Andersons'. The funeral sermon was preached at the church. There was a very large concourse of people out in fact the largest that has ever entered our graveyard.

May 2. It rained heavily all night interspersed with snow and the wind north. The ground is covered with snow and water this morning and everything looks winterish and discouraging for farm operations. We are certainly having the most disagreeable and backward spring that I remember seeing. Grass is not sufficient yet for stock to live on it and feed is about all done. There is no corn planted and but little ground prepared for that crop. Tended to a variety of wet weather jobbs about the farm.

May 7. Cloudy this morning but clear and very warm the afternoon. I went to Springfield today. Dr. J. M. Suddeth payed me \$156. this morning. Received the May interest on our five twenty bonds in gold amounting in the aggregate to \$129. Deposited with J. Williams \$380. The news from the army is of an interresting and exciteing character. The army of the Potomac is moveing and has had some fighting with rebbles under Lee, Gen. Steel has retreated from Read river back to Little Rock followed by Price and the army of the cumberland is reported in motion We may look for exciting news within the next few days. Roads dry but very rough.

May 8. It has been cloudy with rain early in the morning and again at two oclock in the evening, with the Ther. up to 70° Spring in all its early freshness is with us now Vegetation has come forward rapidly the last few days. All kinds of fruit trees except Peaches are in full blom and the prospect is very flattering for an abundant crop of most kinds of fruit The severity of the winter has injured all the peach trees and killed many of the older trees outright. There has been conciderable corn planted the last three days and upon the whole I think we have much to encourage us as regards our future prospects for a crop Had Sabbath school and preaching attendance small.

June 2. Cool and pleasant. I and some of the family went to Springfield. Found the roads good and trade lively. Subscribed for \$1000. of Gov. Bonds Got a Stafford corn Plow paid \$51 for it Groceries at war prices. Shugar 25 cts Coffee 50 cts. Ordered a monument for Capt. C. H. Anderson and paid \$30. on it.

June 17. It was cloudy and sprinkling rain this morning with the Bar. 29<sup>20</sup> Agnes and I went to Holliday Andersons to make some arrangements about settling Kits estate. There is a large crop of wheat and corn planted in the east-



ern part of our County and with favorable weather for the next month I think we will have plenty for man and beast. The boy that has been working for us took the sulks and left this evening. It is no use to try to carry on farming and depend on such boys for help. Their work is not worth their board and clothes yet farmers has to pay them twenty dollars a month let them work as they please take all their impudence and neaver presume to manage or direct how work shall be done. Farming under such circumstances is a continual source of vexation and loss.

June 24. Still clear and intensely warm. Plowed corn the forenoon and attended the closeing exercises of the school at the Academy in the afternoon. There was a good attendance present but the exercises were heavy and spiritless. War news and the troubles of the country seem to engross the whole attention of the people. They can think of nothing else they can talk of nothing else, either young or old.

July 4. Clear and warm. Plowed corn all day. We have finished plowing corn today. We have got along much better than I expected when we commenced. We have gone over our crop all three times and a half of it four times. Our corn look very promiceing and with a favorable season from this out we will make a good crop. A few of the neighbors have gone to different places to celledbrate the fourth.

July 10. Alternately clear and cloudy with some promise of rain Had a good Sabbath School and preaching. Mr. Benson a dellegat of the Christian commission preached and made a warm appeal for aid in behalf of our soldiers and the freed men within the lines of our armies He is collecting funds for the purchase of Books and good publications to be distributed in the camps hospitals schools and milliatry prisons throughout the land. His labours will be liberally seconded in our neighborhood.



July 22. Clear and nearly cool enough for frost. got up the last remnants of our harvest this forenoon. We are now through our harvest except our hungarian grass. We have got along much better than we expected at the commencement. We have put up in the best of order a more than average harvest notwithstanding the scarcity of labour and the unprecedented hot weather. Farmers are mostly done cutting but most of the grain and some hay is unhoused The breadth of land harvested is a full average with a more than average yield. Tended to some chors and took a run over the farm in the afternoon.

Aug. 31. Cool but clear. I and some of the other members of the family went to Springfield Roads dry and dusty. Town full of people trade lively and prices out of all reason, Got 75 cts a bus for apples. Got \$1000 5 per cent Gov. Bonds Received twelve dollars in gold as interest on them.

Sept. 3. It was cloudy with nearly a continuous blaze of lightning last night but no rain worth mentioning. The day has been clear and among the hottest that I ever experienced Ther. 98° at two P M If it had not been for a stiff westerly breeze the heat would have been insupportable as it was everything has suffered from the heat and flies. Water is becomeing very scarce. Vegetation parched and wilted. Have tended to a few light chores about the farm the heat being too great for any work that requires much exertion. Have received the good news that Sherman has captured Atlanta. Bar. 29<sup>00</sup> and falling with the night cloudy.

Sept. 28. Dark and cloudy all day. Father and I went to Springfield Sold Pairs at \$2.50 per bus Sweet Potatoes \$2.50 and apples 75 cts. Received \$132.00 in Gold as interest on our Government Bonds. Received \$168. for cattle sold J. Williams Subscribed for \$200 worth of 7 3/10

treasury notes. Had a very dark and disagreeable drive home.

Oct. 8. Clear and quite winterish finished getting our cane to the mill and halled two loads of posts home from the timber the forenoon and cut up a few shocks of corn in the evening. We have sold a large quantity of apples this week. Fall apples at thirty cents and winter fruit at 75 cts \$1.00 per bus.

Oct. 20. Cloudy and disposed to rain all day. Went to Athens to a Union mass meeting. There was a great croud out had good speaking and a plentiful dinner and everything passed off pleasantly notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather. Eweing Spears and Sister is with us tonight also Elisa Jane and Lou Stone.

Nov. 16. Cloudy and misting rain at intervals. Made 120 Gallons of cider and made arrangements for gowing to Springfield tomorrow if the weather will permit.

Nov. 17. Tollerbly clear and pleasant. Kirk and I went to Springfield found the roads good, the town full of people and trade brisk with extravigent prices for all kinds of merchandise. Got 30 cts a gallon for my cider. Brought home lumber and shingles.

Dec. 14. It has been cold and disagreeable all day. We butchered eleven hogs today. Sold Mr. Strain 873 lbs of Pork at 12 cts per lb. All hands tired and ready for a nights rest.

Dec. 23. Ther. 3° below zero but the day has moderated with the wind south. Tended to the feeding the forenoon and went to Athens and Winters' mill the afternoon. Capt. R. A. Hurt got home this evening from Little Rock with the remains of Lieut. Col. J. M. Hurt<sup>17</sup> of the 106th Ill. Vol.

Jan. 2, 1865. Cool—clear and frosty. Started today to visit the soldier boys at Little Rock and Pine Bluffs in

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<sup>17</sup>John M. Hurt of Athens died at Pine Bluff, Ark., Nov. 18, 1864.

Arkansas S. Winters is gowing with me. Left Springfield for Decature about ten oclock A.M. Saw nothing of interest on the way up as we passed in the night.

Jan. 3. Had to lay over in Decature 8 hours. The trains failed to make regular time. Passed down the western branch of the central railroad through Pana Vandalia and several smaller towns to Centralia and from thence through Dongolia<sup>18</sup> Ducoin Carbondale Jonesborough Olney and numerous minor places to Cairo. Passed over some nice country. From Decature to Ducoin the country is Praiarie and timber alternately and mostly leavel and destitute of liveing water. The soil is not so rich as along the Sangamon and the timber is short and scrubby. South of Ducoin the country is very broken and heavily timbered. About Carbondale and Jonesborough the the country assumes a very broken and mountainous character riseing into bold and towering cliffs of rock. This region is one vast cole field and immense quantities of that commodity is mined and sent to market from Ducoin and Dongolia. A very large percent of the land through this region is uncultivated.

Jan. 4. Clear and frosty. Went aboard the steamer Molley Able for Memphis Remained in port all day. Cairo is situated at the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers and is the terminus of the Illinois Central railroad. It is finely situated for commerce but has a miserable site to build on being low and swampy. The city is protected from over flow by an immense dike extending around its entire water front. It is growing rapidly in welth and population and is destined to be a great city at no distant day.

Jan 5. The forenoon was clear and pleasant but late in the evening it commenced raining and was raw and disagreeable. We left Cairo about 1 oclock and ran past

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<sup>18</sup>Dongolo, Union County.

Columbus — Hickman and Island no' 10 After passing here the fog came down so dense our boat had to lay by til daylight. Columbus is a miserable place but well situated for millitary defence. The rebbles fortified it strongly and it was here that Pillows great chain was stretched across the river to prevent boats passing. Its glory has departed and its fortifications are gowing to ruin. The country is low and swampy and covered with dense forests.

Jan. 6. It commenced sleeting and snowing early this morning and continued to storm all day. We have made slow progress and have seen nothing worth noting save the inclemency of the weather which is fully up to a storm on the prararies.

Jan. 7. Landed at Memphis this morning about one oclock. Weather cold frosty and braceing. It has frozen sufficiently hard during the night to bare any kind of team. It was rather trying to week nerves to be sent ashore in a strange city at so unseasonable an hour on such a night. Stayed in port all day not being able to get a boat for white river. Have been through the city some. This is quite a large place but showes the ravages of war. It is finely situated on the east bank of the Mississippi river on a high head land extending up and down the river several miles. It is well built and containes many ellegant buildings. Before the rebellion it was a place of good wealth and its commerce immense. Here we come squarely under millitary rule. One has to have a pass to enter or leave the place and permits to trade buy or remove any article of merchandise. We are under martial law, guards and bayonets meet you at every corner and ones liberties are very much restrained but an honest person with right motives and good common sense meets with little trouble in getting around.

Jan. 8. This has been a beautiful day. Went aboard the steamer St. Cloud for White river but remained in port



all day. Attended Sunday School and Church at a Methodist Chapel. It appeared like home to get into a Sunday School and hear preaching again after having been cooped up so long on board of the car and boats with the crowds of wicked vulgar dissipated humanity that throng these conveyances.

Jan. 9. It commenced raining about dark last night and rained continuously up to noon today interspersed with snow. This has been a very disagreeable day. The levee was muddy and comparatively deserted. Several boats landed but made no attempt to discharge freight. Stayed in port all day. Such continuous delays and inclement weather is trying to the patience.

Jan. 10. It rained and snowed alternately the forenoon but the evening cleared up frosty. We started for White river about five o'clock in the evening with a crowd of passengers. Boat ran all night.

Jan. 11. Clear and pleasant after our long spell of gloomy weather. Passed down the Mississippi entered White river and ran up that stream all night. The appearance of the country is one continuous stretch of low swampy bottom land covered with a dense growth of timber interwoven with an impenetrable mass of cane, Vines and undergrowth, with here and there at long intervals a plantation nearly all of which has been destroyed by the gun boats in consequence of there having been the rendezvous of Guerrillas. White river is a narrow—crooked and deep river navigable for boats the major part of the year.

Jan. 12. Clear and cool. Landed at Devall Bluff late in the evening. This is a miserable looking place situated on the west bank of the river (on a high head land) two hundred miles from its mouth. It is nothing more than a vast camp of soldiers and depot of supplies with want, mud and wickedness as its distinguishing characteristics. Passed



Clarendon or what remains of it today It was a place of some three hundred inhabitants but was burned last summer by the gun boats in consequence of it having been used as a place of rendezvous for guerrillas. Not a building remains.

Jan. 13. Came on rail to Little Rock. I am very much disappointed in the appearance of the country. The first half of the way is through Prarie The last half through as fine a growth of timber as ever I saw consisting of Red, White, Black and Post Oak—Hickory, Elm, Sweet Gum and in the swamps Cypress. The land is nearly a dead level and is poor sterile and in many places swampy. Have not seen one hundred acres in cultivation today and not over a half dozen habitations. Passed numerous camps and stockades some of which had been burned by Shelby last summer in his raids along the road.

Jan. 14. Spent the day in looking through the city. This is decidedly a pretty place and was the abode of wealth—luxury and refinement before the war. It is the capital of Arkansas and has a set of state buildings four large churches a good hotel a fine Arsenal a nice set of College buildings and many elegant residences. We here come into the Pine regions for the first. The bluffs along the river and the high lands about the city is covered with Pine and Cedar and the yards and lawns are beautifully set with these and other shrubbery which gives the place a fresh romantic and inviting appearance. The soil is a sterile vermilion clay filled with gravel and is not productive. This place is now a great center of military operations and is full of soldiers and the paraphernalia of war.

Jan. 15. Clear and pleasant with a white frost. Attended church at eleven and at night in the Presbyterian Church There was a good congregation of citizens out the forenoon. The sad effects of the war was quite apparent

from the almost universal badge of mourning worn by all. Hardly one in ten but was dressed in black. It was truly refreshing to the feelings to be permitted to spend an hour in the house of God in the way we have been trained and accustomed to in other years. For the last two weeks I have seen little else than wickedness want and sorrow and have heard naught but swearing and ungodly conversation and it was a pleasant relief to hear sung the same songs I have heard at home and to listen to the same truths from the sacred desk that I have listened to under pleasanter circumstances. To fully appreciate the privileges we enjoy at home we must be deprived of them for a season. Neaver have I valued home and its pleasures so highly as I have within the past fortnight. Millitary Pomp and show has no attractions and Wealth with its gilded paraphranelia no pleasures for me compared with home and its delights.

Jan. 16. Still pleasant and beautiful weather but we are cooped up here with no prospect of getting away soon and no communication with the rest of the world. I am rather nervous about our situation and to tell the truth have a touch of the blues. There has been some fighting about fifty miles up the river, result not knowen.

Jan. 17. A delightful day here. Have spent it on the levee looking for a boat and in musing over our disagreeable scituation Affairs with us is becomeing rather serious. We are here among strangers with our means growing if not beautifully at least rapidly less and no immediate prospect of getting away.

Jan. 18. Our discomefits continue as we got no sleep last night in consequence of the noise about the tavern so today we have taken lodgeing at a private boarding house where things promice more favourable. Weather clear and spring like.

Jan. 19. Clear and frosty. Got passage this morning on an old hulk for Pine Bluff. Landed there about eight oclock. Found the boys well and much more comeformably scituated than I expected.<sup>19</sup> The country along the river is mostly bottom lands heavily timbered with a occasional reach of bold head lands covered with Pine and Oak timber of the best quallity. The bottom lands where they do not overflow is cleared and has been cultivated in cotton. These cotton farms are a peculiar institution. They consist of large tracts of rich allivial bottoms that has been cleare of the cane and under growth while the large timber has been deadened and left standing. The buildings consist of a large neet mansion where the proprietor resides surrounded by numerous smaller building or cabins called quarters where the slaves stay together with Gin house—Press Barns and other out buildings. Some of the larger plantations has the appearance of a smart village and has before this cruel war marred their cheerful appearance and blighted their prospirity look quite attractive. But the scene is saddly changed now. The spirit of desolation and ruin rests like a funeral pall over them. The wealthy proprietor is gone, the once happy family is fugitives from home—the slaves are scattered—fenceing down or destroyed—barns empty—Houses tenantless and the fair fields where king cotton held sway is over run with weeds and under brush. In traveling through this region one cannot help exclaiming, Lo behold how the mighty are fallen. Yet they have no one to blame but themselves for it. They have defyed God—outraged humanity and rebelled against civil goverment and in their punishment we see the result.

Jan. 20. Pleasant spent the day in visiting among the boys and in sight seeing. This has been quite a place before

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<sup>19</sup>Company K of the 106th Illinois Infantry was made up of Menard County men, and was stationed at Pine Bluff, Ark., during the winter of 1864-65.

the war but is now only a millitary camp. Marmaduke attacted this place last summer and after a stubborn fight was repulsed with severe loss.

Jan. 21. Cloudy and damp. Spent the day in camp among the boys.

Jan. 22. It was raining this morning and the day was damp went to church and hered a first rate sermon from one of the chaplains stationed here. There was a large and attractive congregation of soldiers out. Went aboard a boat late in the evening and turned our course homeward. Felt conciderable reluctance in leaveing the boys so soon but circumstances rendered it absolutely necessary that we should go.

Jan. 23. It snowed smartly last night and the morning was cold and winterish reminding one forceably of home and the prararies and is in strong contrast to the weather we have enoyed for the last ten days. Passed down the Arkansas river and entered the Mississipie. Lay bye all night at the mouth of the White river takeing on cole.

Jan. 24. Decidedly winterish. Passed up the Mississipie above Hellena during the day. River in fine boating order. Hellena is the only town of any note passed today and is only a small place scituated at the base of a high range of hills on the west bank of the river below Memphis. It is very strongly fortifyed. The rebbles attacked this place the fourth of July 1863 and was most signally defeated.

Jan. 25. Very cold and disagreeable got into port at Memphis about daylight. Goverment seased our boat and we had to reshup which delayed us all day. It looks as if providence is against us. We have met with one continual round of delay and disappointment. Left port about dark and ran all night with a cold stiff north wind blowing which rendered our progress slow. Had no other sleeping accomodation tonight than our chairs.



Jan. 26. Cold and freezing ran all day and night against heavy head winds and a rough sea. Got to Cairo about sunrise ran the last thirty miles through heavy fields of floating ice. Navigation is virtually closed down to this point. Spent the night in our chairs beseeching a cold stove. Resignation and forbearance are christian virtues but I will confess that to practise them to the litter in this case is more than I am able to do. The idea of a man feeling charitable after spending two nights in his chair without sleep amid a crowd of swearing drinking gambling humanity when he has paid his money freely for a bed and a chance to sleep is simply preposterous.

Jan. 27. It is intensely cold this morning. Went aboard the cars for Springfield about noon. Lay over eight hours at Centralia amid a restless impatient crowd of travelers.

Jan. 28. Clear and cold. After much delay we got started from Centralia about three o'clock and ran sixty miles when we overtook a freight train unable to proceed after several unsuccessful attempts to shove the train forward to a station our train was run back to Pana and the passengers switched off and the engine sent to bring the other train off the road, after two trips, this was accomplished and we started again and go to Decatur there to find that the trains to Springfield were blocked in consequence of a breakdown on the road, but about eight o'clock in the evening we got a train and landed at the Manning house in the city of Springfield about twelve at night. Here we got a bed and five hours sleep the first for four consecutive nights.

Jan. 29. Clear and pleasant, Footed it out home, Roads fine got in about one o'clock found the family well—went to church at night. Feel considerably better than I have for some time past.

Feb. 16. It froze sharply last night with a heavy white frost this morning but it cleared up and thawed rapidly in



the afternoon. Father and I went to Springfield. Found the roads rough in the morning and muddy in the evening. Sold our Apples for \$1.75 per bushel. Town full of people and trade lively.

Feb. 20. It froze sharply last night but the day has been clear and pleasant. Went to Petersburg and paid our Taxes, Taxes is high. Our state and County tax was \$85. Income \$42. Roads very muddy.

Feb. 25. It commenced raining about daylight and it has been a regular wet day. The streams are all flood full again and the mud intollerble. It is nearly impossible to get out feed this morning and stock feels very uncomfortable and needs extra attention. Went to Mr. Canby's in the evening and settle our subscription to Mr. Crisswells sallery for the last year and subscribed again for this year and paid \$25. of the amount subscribed down.

Mar. 10. Cool but clear. Attended the seventh annual exhibition of North Sangamon Academy. There was a large croud of people in attendance and all went off pleasantly. The exercises consisted of reading selections, Compositions, Dialogues and singing by the Junior department and Origional declamations by the Gentlemen and Essays by the Ladies of the Senior department enlivened by Vocal and instrumental music and the presentation of some nice tokens of respect by the schollars and patrons of the school to the teachers. Several friends took dinner with us.

Mar. 27. Inclined to be cloudy with a slight sprinkle of rain late in the evening. Took our wool to Petersburg Bale & Hill got it. Sold 850 lbs at 75 cts per lb. Found the roads dry but rough.

Mar. 28. Pleasant. I and two of the girls went to Springfield. Got \$2.00 per bushel for Apples Trade is very much depressed and prices tending downward. Roads much better than I expected to find them.

April 5. Cloudy and windy with rain in the afternoon. Sowed Oats the forenoon and went to Petersburg in the evening. The news from our armies is of the most encouraging character. Grant has captured Petersburg and Richmond both—with good Spoils and many prisoners. There is no bounds to the joy and enthusiasm of the loyal people of the north.

April 10. Tollerbly pleasant. Repaired fence and shucked corn the forenoon and tended to a variety of chores in the evening. The news from our armies today is one of the most exciteing and glorious character. Grants army after a week of continuous battle has succeeded in capturing Lee and his whole command. This is the most glorious and important event that has taken place since the commencement of the war. It is the death stab of the rebellion and all parties now begin to see the end of the war. Everybody is crased with joy and delight and drunk with excitement. There is one continual roar of Cannon and fire arms mingled with the sound of fife and drum and patriotic songs. Every City Village and hamlet in the loyal north has engaged in some sort of demonstration today, and every person that could claim a flag gave it to the breeze. Some of the Rochester folks stopped in on us this afternoon.

April 15. Tollerbly clear and warm until late in the evening when it clouded up and sprinkled rain. Cut some hedge and had our plows sharpened. The terrible news that the President and Secretary of State has been assassinated is received this evening. This hellish act was perpetrated yesterday evening in the city of Washington. This news is so unexpected and startling that all stand appalled and stupefied with horror and indignation. What the result will be in respect to the war or upon the interest of the county none can fore tell. Many feel gloomy and discouraged but as providence has guided us safe through many trials and

troubles thus far I believe all will come out rite and for our good yet.

April 16. Tollerbly clear and pleasant. Had a good sabbath school and preaching the forenoon. Congregation large and unusually attentive and solemn in consequence of the terrible sorrow that has fallen on our land within the last thirty six hours. The day the people and everything weres the aspect of a funeral the most solemn and impressive.

April 29. Damp and cloudy. Resett fence and repaired and put up two gates. Turned our young stock out to grass this evening. Have the gratifying news this evening that Booth the retch who assassinated the President has been killed. It is gratifying to know that justice has been swift and sure in the punishment of the guilty in this case but his death is a very poor and inadequate atonement for the fearful injury and wrong he has perpetrated.

May 4. Clear and warm as mid summer Ther. 82° Ba<sup>r</sup>. 29.<sup>20</sup> and falling. Went to Springfield to attend the funeral of President Lincoln. This was one of the grandest most magnifficent and solemn scenes ever witnessed on this continent. Language is tame and inadequate to describe or convey a correct idea of the scene. To understand and appreciate the magnifficent and solemn pagent witnessed today one must have beheld it. It was worth all the time—expense and trouble that it cost to witness it. Those who have been so fortunate as to be partispants in the scenes of this day can neaver forget them and will ever cherish the memory of this day as among the most solemn and impressive of their lives.

May 22. Clear and pleasant. Mary & I went to Springfield Found the roads hard and very rough and rutted. Trade at a stand still prices tending upward on cotton goods Received \$120. in interest on government bonds Took \$850. in 7/30 Bonds.

June 7. Still warm but somewhat cloudy with a light sprinkle of rain in the evening. Finished shearing our sheep Nute Gents sheared 82 head for us and father and I the remainder amounting to 162 head. Our wool clip is among the best we ever had both in weight and quality.

June 30. Hot as Saharia. Took our wool to Petersburg and sold it. Had 811 1-4 lbs. got fifty cents per lb. for it. Got a lott of milling ground. Lou Turner & Ed Worth was married yesterday evening.

July 4. Clear and intensely hot Ther. 93° Nearly every person that could has gone to cellebrate the anniversary of our national independence at some of the numerous places where cellebrations have been gotten up. We went to Elkhart. There was a immense concorse of people out. The grounds we lovely the arrangements complete and notwithstanding the heat everything went off pleasantly. This day has been more generally and enthusiastically observed than for many years.

July 21. It rained tremendously last night accompanied with severe thunder and lightning. The earth is completely saturated with water and the streames full. So unusual a wet spell has interfeared seriously with harvest labors. A large proportion of the harvest is yet out with conciderable grain and grass yet to cut. The wet has already damaged it very much and unless it fairs up soon there will be much grain and grass lost. Corn neaver looked more promiceing and pastures are fine. Tended to a variety of chores about the farm.

July 25. Rained tremendously last night with conciderable wind which has tangled the corn smartly. The day has been tollerably clear with a beautiful starry night. Cut and rake grass the latter part of the day. Brother Robert got home tonight He has been in the army nearly three years and has neaver been home. He has seen some hard service in



the swamps and cane breaks of Mississippie and Arkansas and looks the worse of the wear.

July 26. It rained heavily last night and again about ten oclock we had a tremendous rain The whole earth is covered with water and the streams flood full. No one recollects of ever seeing so wet a spell this time of year. A large portion of the harvest is seriously damage and some of it ruined and unless we have fair weather soon the balance will be lost. Corn especially on the flat lands is in a precarious condition. Went to Athens in the evening, roads very bad. Ba<sup>r</sup>. 29.<sup>00</sup> with a downward tendency.

Aug. 14. It rained the major part of the night and the day has been damp and gloomy. We have certainly had one of the wettes and most disagreeable spells of weather that I ever experienced at this season of the year. We have not had two consecutive days of clear weather since the 8th of July. In consequence much harvest has been lost and all that was not well secured before that time seriously damaged Taken altogether the wheat and Oat crop will fall below a half yield. Hay is badly damaged Corn on rolling land will be very fine while late planted on flat land is seriously damaged. Pastures are very fine and vegetation of all discriptions tropical. Mowed weeds the forenoon and went to Athens in the evening.

Aug. 15. Pleasant and nice and the day has been one of pleasure and enjoyment to our neighborhood. The citizens gave the soldiers that has come home and us a reception dinner. It was a regular Picnic of the nicest kind and everything passed off pleasantly. There was a very large conorse of people present and the day was spent in speeking, singing feasting and social intercourse. Several friends are staying with us tonight.

Sept. 12. Clear and intollerbly hot Robert & I went to Springfield. Sold our Pairs for \$2.50, Peaches \$3.00, Ap-



ples 74 cts per bus'. Prices of all kinds of merchandise tending upward. Roads exceedingly bad.

Sept. 15. Clear and very hot the forenoon with a shower of rain to the north of us in the evening. Uncle Andrew & I went to Springfield. Sold our Pears for \$2.00 Peaches \$3.00 and Apples 75 cts per bushel. Trade lively and the town full of people. Roads much improved since Tuesday.

Sept. 24. Cloudy and damp all day with the barometer indicating rain. Had a very thin attendance at Sunday School & Church in consequence of the nearly universal prevalence of sickness in the community. There is scarcely a family in the neighborhood but what has more or less sickness—mostly chills and billious fever.

Oct. 11. Clear and nice. Stayed indoors and took medicine to break the Ague but failed to do so. Had a chill about eleven which together with the quinine hurt me very much. Kirk and Agness both had it today. There is more sickness prevailing now than has prevailed at one time for twenty years. Had hands finish cutting our corn today and Robert got our sugar cane ready to commence halling to the mill.

Nov. 11. A most delightful day being clear and cool Robert and I went to town found the roads very good. Town full of people and trade lively with prices high enough for all practical purposes Received \$120. in gold being interest on our five twenty bonds.

Nov. 28. Cloudy and very dark this morning with a sprinkle of rain about daylight Afternoon tollerby clear and cool Robert Agnes & I went to Springfield. Started at 3 oclock in the morning. Had a very dark and disagreeable drive. Took twenty bus of wheat got \$1.65 per bus. Brought home the remainder of his housekeeping furniture. Took an insurance pollicy of \$700.00 on my house for three years in the Sangamo insurance company—Paid \$10.25 for it.

Dec. 7. There was a light fall of snow last night and the day has been somewhat winterish. This being thanksgiving day the community mostly went to church and in other ways observed it.

Dec. 21. Ther. 10° below zero this morning with a biting northwest wind blowing which has rendered the day exceedingly disagreeable. Fed our stock for the first this morning but as soon as the snow disappears we will have plenty of grass in our pastures for our stock a month longer. Fed and tended to some repairs about our barn.

Dec. 25. Cloudy and damp all day with rain in the afternoon. Hauled a load of wood from the timber went to Jeff. Johnsons to a party at night. Quite a crowd out with a good time generally.

# SOME FACTORS IN THE AMERICANIZATION OF THE SWEDISH IMMIGRANT, 1850-1890

By FRITIOF ANDER

William Widgery Thomas, Jr., probably influenced by his admiration of the Swedes and Sweden, claimed that in 1891 there were about two million Swedes in the United States,<sup>1</sup> and another writer stated in 1890 that one of every sixty persons in the United States was a Swede.<sup>2</sup> In spite of the generally rapid increase in population during the nineteenth century, both of these observers failed to explain the extraordinarily rapid propagation of the Swedes in America to the satisfaction of the scientific investigator, who prefers to accept the cold statistical figures compiled by the governments of Sweden and the United States. But even these figures are impressive enough to justify a careful study of the Americanization of the Swedish immigrant. According to Swedish statistics, about 916,000 people emigrated from Sweden between 1851 and 1895, and it is estimated that about 760,000 of them sought new homes in the United States, thus reducing the figures of Mr. Thomas by nearly one million.<sup>3</sup> These figures correspond to an amazing degree with the United States census, which enumerated 576,000 Swedish-born people in the United States at the beginning of this century.<sup>4</sup>

An abundant amount of material exists on the Americanization of the Swedish immigrant, and this article does not

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<sup>1</sup>*Sweden and the Swedes*, Chicago and New York, 1892, p. 740.

<sup>2</sup>Swensson, *Vid Hemmets Håra*, Chicago, 1890, p. 305.

<sup>3</sup>Sundbårg, *Sweden, Its People and Its Industry*, Stockholm, 1904, p. 139.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 132. It is, however, hardly possible that 200,000 Swedish immigrants should have died or returned to Sweden between 1851 and 1900.

assert that all the important sources have been exhausted. It is merely an attempt to point out a few factors which often have been misunderstood—namely, the relationship of the church and the press to Americanization of this immigrant group.

The history of Sweden, the culture of Sweden, its literature and music have given the Swedish immigrant profound impressions in spite of the fact that he has at times been referred to as uncultured by his "cultured" brother, who prefers to sit at home rather than "to chase buffaloes and Indians in a wild country." The customs of the mother country often become very sacred to the immigrant. He reads and rereads the heroic pages of Swedish history, Gustavus Adolphus and Charles XII growing in stature with each reading and his enthusiasm being stirred by the slightest reference to those heroes. The love for and the sentiments connected with the Swedish language therefore are strengthened, for it is associated with the heroes of the past. The immigrant is not willing to sacrifice and sever immediately all connections with the "old country." Though the immigrant often lives in the past, in the Viking age, in the age of the Stures, in the age of Gustavus Vasa, in the period of Swedish grandeur—other ties bind him to the mother country. He cannot forget relatives and close friends left across the waters, and with age the memories of childhood and youth become more vivid; the valleys, rivers, lakes, and mountains of the childhood home seem more and more charming.<sup>5</sup> These natural factors undoubtedly retard Americanization and must operate with respect to all immigrants regardless of nationality. Often the son and the grandson inherit this love for the old country, so that in feelings, as well as in name, the immigrant and his children can be called Swedish-Americans. This was true in 1890, when the homeland ties

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<sup>5</sup>*Hemlandet, Det Gamla och Det Nya*, April 12, 1890.

seemed unusually strong, and, in spite of the World War with its forced Americanization, it is no doubt true to a certain degree even today.

It is rather generally believed that the church (especially the Augustana Synod) and the press are responsible for this condition, and it is said that they have fostered the love for Sweden among the immigrants and that they have been the chief instruments in preserving the Swedish language and customs among the immigrants.<sup>6</sup> Dr. G. A. Brandelle, the President of the Augustana Synod, stated in 1910 that the Synod has been the most important factor (more important than the press) in preserving the Swedish language among the Swedish immigrants.<sup>7</sup> To assume, however, that the church and the press were chiefly responsible for the more or less natural connections tying the immigrant to the old country is impossible, for the church and the press have had no definite program of fostering these sentiments. The process of Americanization has been retarded by the natural causes already mentioned and by other circumstances. In fact, the church and the press, though subjected to the natural ties to Sweden, have been factors of no small importance in hastening the process of Americanization.

The founders of the Augustana Synod—the largest Swedish immigrant Church in America, numbering some 3,000 members at its organization in 1860 and 311,000 in 1926<sup>8</sup>—were born and educated in Sweden. Their love for their fatherland was undoubtedly great and deep-rooted, and never did they become so Americanized as to sever all connections with Sweden. However, they were not ardent advocates of the preservation of the Swedish language. They became “good, faithful and self-sacrificing American citi-

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<sup>6</sup>Person, *Svensk-Amerikanska Studier*, Rock Island, Ill., 1912, p. 9.

<sup>7</sup>Peterson, *Sverige i Amerika*, Chicago, Ill., p. 42.

<sup>8</sup>*United States Census, Religious Bodies*, 1926.



zens!"<sup>9</sup> One of them, probably the most constructive leader among the Swedish immigrants, was T. N. Hasselquist, a Lutheran clergyman, educated and ordained in Sweden, who arrived in the United States in 1852. In spite of the fact that he was 36 years old, he was extremely eager for a rapid Americanization, although he did not wish the Swedes to lose their good national characteristics, "honesty, industry, and ideals of democracy."<sup>10</sup> He also wanted them to retain their religious belief, urging them to be faithful to the Lutheran church. He warned the Swedes, however, not to adopt indiscriminately certain American "customs," but to contribute something of value to the melting pot of nations. With alarm he deplored the laxity of American parents in educating their children, exclaiming at the lack of proper discipline, which resulted in a "wild youth" not afraid to use the gun "now and then."<sup>11</sup> His puritanical ideals revolted against the freedom of women prevalent among the Americans in the East when this expressed itself in "pride, singing, dancing and petting" and in a refusal to learn "sewing, cooking, and baking," as well as in objections to bearing children.<sup>12</sup> But all good American traits he desired the Swedes to adopt, stressing temperance, undoubtedly believing that the immigrant needed to be warned against the Swedish "national sin," intemperance.<sup>13</sup>

The sincerity of purpose, the honesty of this leader of the Swedish Lutherans, in advocating rapid Americanization is amply shown by a great deal of evidence. In order to prove it one needs only to uncover the dusty pages of the newspaper *Hemlandet* for 1855-1858, where he urged the church to prepare for the time when the English language would supplant the Swedish, clearly stating that the pur-

<sup>9</sup> *My Church*, Vol. VI, p. 42.

<sup>10</sup> *Hemlandet*, G. o. N., Sept. 12, 1856.

<sup>11</sup> *Hemlandet*, G. o. N., July 28, 1857.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, Aug. 4, 1857.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 30, 1858.

pose of the church is to preach the Gospel and not the Swedish language;<sup>14</sup> and further evidence is provided in the catechism published by Hasselquist in 1857 which was printed in Swedish on one page and in English on the opposite page.<sup>15</sup> Due probably to this program of Hasselquist's and, even more, to the small influx of new emigrants from Sweden, which amounted to only about 14,000 during the '50's,<sup>16</sup> the Swedish Lutherans had become Americanized in many respects by the time they formed the Augustana Synod in 1860. English was used quite extensively in the Sunday Schools, and the clergymen, when called upon, were willing to preach in English; they even tried to correspond with one another in English.<sup>17</sup> The church had no intention of preserving the Swedish language, and according to *The Missionary*,<sup>18</sup> no intention of preserving the nationality. After the Civil War, however, immigrants began to arrive in ever larger numbers and the process of Americanization was retarded. The Synod, in order to gain the favor of these immigrants, had to place a new stress on the use of Swedish.<sup>19</sup> Also, these new immigrants brought with them stronger contacts with Sweden and awakened a slumbering love in the hearts of the older immigrants. The leaders of the church naturally were not immune to these influences, though they, and especially Hasselquist, did not discontinue advocating Americanization. But one can notice a wane in the enthusiasm, particularly in the '80's, when the emigration from Sweden reached such proportions that fears were expressed in Sweden that it might result in depopulation. Hasselquist wrote in 1882: "We are Swedes and cannot, even if we wished, immediately discard our language and the educa-

<sup>14</sup>*Hemlandet*, G. o. N., June 22, 1858.

<sup>15</sup>*The Alumnus*, Vol. I, p. 100.

<sup>16</sup>Sundbeck, *Svenskarna i Amerika, deras land, antal och kolonier*, Stockholm, 1900, p. 103.

<sup>17</sup>Hasselquist Correspondence.

<sup>18</sup>May 24, 1860.

<sup>19</sup>*The Lutheran Observer*, March 27, 1870.

tion received in Sweden."<sup>20</sup> He urged that the children of the immigrants should be taught Swedish in order that they might read to their parents when these became too old to read with their own eyes, but "children ought also to learn English well."<sup>21</sup> It is doubtful whether Hasselquist at any time urged rapid Americanization through intermarriage, but in the '80's he made his people plainly understand that he considered the greatest marital happiness possible only when no differences of nationality or religion exist.<sup>22</sup> Also he grew lukewarm toward the General Council, a general organization of Lutherans formed in 1867 which the Augustana Synod had joined in 1870 through the influence of Hasselquist, though the Synod had been nearly "too Swedish" for such a step.<sup>23</sup> The General Council, compared with the General Synod, another Lutheran Church organization, was high-church and urged Hasselquist to seek closer contacts with the state church of Sweden. This high-church influence, together with a trip to Sweden in 1870, age and the influence of the new immigrants, made Hasselquist more Swedish and caused him to seek the favor of the state church of Sweden.

The results of immigration were now in full evidence. According to figures cited by Carl Sundbeck, only 14,865 Swedes had arrived in America between 1851 and 1860, but between 1861 and 1870 the number rose to 88,731.<sup>24</sup> When one understands that most of these 88,000 arrived after 1865, one can readily see that the effect on the immigrants already in the United States was great. But the depression of 1873 gave a breathing spell, and in 1874 only 3,380 Swedish emigrants embarked for the United States. The period was too short, however, to permit a readjustment to American con-

<sup>20</sup>*Augustana och Missionären*, June 14, 1882.

<sup>21</sup>*Ibid.*, March 28, 1883.

<sup>22</sup>*Ibid.*, Jan. 28, 1881.

<sup>23</sup>Ander, *T. N. Hasselquist*.

<sup>24</sup>*Svenskarna i Amerika, deras land, antal och kolonier*, Stockholm, p. 103.

ditions by the immigrants, and in the '80's they were coming into contact with numerous new arrivals, an average of approximately 35,000 coming annually.<sup>25</sup> Attempts on the part of the Synod to publish religious periodicals in English failed,<sup>26</sup> and an English mission among the Americanized Swedes became a fiasco.<sup>27</sup>

Just exactly as the new waves of immigration influenced the Synod in general they placed a stamp on the educational institutions of the Synod, and any attempts on the part of Hasselquist and others to use these institutions to stimulate Americanization were to a certain extent thwarted. English, which had been used nearly entirely in the Sunday Schools up to 1877, began to lose ground rapidly, and the use of Swedish was advocated for the purpose of teaching the children not only Christianity but Swedish.<sup>28</sup> The parochial schools established by the Swedish Lutherans in 1854<sup>29</sup> never became popular, for they smacked of catholicism, were considered un-American by the more "Americanized," and the children themselves preferred the public schools.<sup>30</sup> Owing to a greater emphasis on the Sunday Schools and growing loyalty to Swedish culture and language, parochial schools degenerated to "some kind" of religious schools conducted by a number of congregations during the summer months for the purpose of teaching Christianity and Swedish,<sup>31</sup> and only a few of the larger congregations maintained schools during nine months, or a school year.<sup>32</sup> In the educational institution of the Synod, Augustana College and Theological Seminary, Hasselquist put forth vigorous ef-

<sup>25</sup>*Svenskarna i Amerika*, Vol. I, pp. 228-229.

<sup>26</sup>Ander, *Hasselquist*.

<sup>27</sup>*Augustana Synod*, 1860-1910.

<sup>28</sup>*Augustana och Missionären*, No. 7, 1877.

<sup>29</sup>Peterson, "The Beginning of Swedish-American Education" *Year-Book of the Swedish Historical Society of America*, Vol. VIII.

<sup>30</sup>*Augustana och Missionären*, Dec. 27, 1888; Boissy, *Svenska Nationaliteten i Föränta Staterna*, p. 20.

<sup>31</sup>Beckman, *Amerikanska Studier*, p. 131.

<sup>32</sup>*Hemlandet*, G. o. N., Oct. 29, 1875.



forts to stimulate Americanization. He maintained that an "English professor" should be engaged to teach "the important English language," because the students read English "as it is done by Swedes."<sup>33</sup> The aim of the college became not only the training of men for the ministry, but the teaching of the duties of citizenship,<sup>34</sup> and a course in civil government was introduced.<sup>35</sup> The effect of immigration was, however, plainly shown in the institution. Attempts to encourage Americans to enroll failed,<sup>36</sup> and the number of students who had been born in Sweden was large, not to mention the imported candidates for the ministry from A. P. Ahlberg's and *Fosterlands Stiftelsens* schools.<sup>37</sup> The institution throughout this period could therefore not free itself from the reputation of being "an exclusive college for the Swedes," and the Americans in the Tri-cities of Rock Island, Moline, and Davenport looked with suspicion upon the college and the seminary.<sup>38</sup> Under these conditions, the progress toward making the institution "American" is nothing short of remarkable, as to the curriculum, faculty, and language. In 1883 instruction was conducted in English in 120 hours as compared to 106 hours in Swedish.<sup>39</sup> Gradually Swedish lost more and more ground,<sup>40</sup> and a larger number of American-born faculty members were employed.

It is a question whether other Swedish church organizations became Americanized more rapidly. Some have declared that the Swedish Baptists and Methodists—due to the fact that they were largely dependent upon the financial support of their respective American denominations and were too small to maintain entirely dependent educational insti-

<sup>33</sup>*Paxton Record*, Aug. 3, 1865; Hasselquist to H. Reck, Rock Island, Ill., Aug. 23, 1871; *Student Katalog*, 1871-1872.

<sup>34</sup>*Hemlandet*, G. o. N., Oct. 29, 1875.

<sup>35</sup>*Katalog*, 1875-1876.

<sup>36</sup>*Catalogue*, 1883-1884.

<sup>37</sup>Ander, *T.N. Hasselquist*: Catalogues.

<sup>38</sup>*The Lutheran Observer*, Feb. 25, 1870; *Svenska Tribunen*, July 9, 1879.

<sup>39</sup>*Catalogue*, 1883-1884, p. 38.

<sup>40</sup>*Catalogues*, 1885-1900.



tutions—became Americanized more rapidly than did the Augustana Synod.<sup>41</sup> On the other hand, it can be argued that these Reformed churches became Americanized more slowly, for with them Americanization meant the loss of identity. A careful study of this problem would undoubtedly reveal that the same factors which retarded complete Americanization of the Synod also delayed the Americanization of the Reformed organizations, and that the above stated “probabilities” were of minor importance.

The Swedish-American press has played a tremendously important part in moulding Swedish-American opinion. The number of Swedish newspapers published between 1851 and 1886 in America reached the impressive number of 176,<sup>42</sup> and it has been estimated that by 1910 about 1,500 newspapers and tracts had been printed.<sup>43</sup> To a certain extent it can be said that the press had a greater influence than the church. The influence of the press as a whole was sound, and the fact that the Swede became Americanized “politically” within a very short time can be attributed largely to the power of the press.<sup>44</sup> Abundant material also testifies to the fact that the press became “American” in sentiment more rapidly than the immigrants and therefore guided, rather than retarded, Americanization. The very origin of the Swedish-American press was the expression of the hope that the press might assist the immigrant to adjust himself to American conditions. The first Swedish-American newspaper published in America was *Hemlandet, Det Gamla och Det Nya*, edited by T. N. Hasselquist. (It is true that an earlier attempt had been made, in 1851, to start a Swedish-American newspaper, but only a few issues were printed, and the paper hoped to appeal to all Scandinavians

<sup>41</sup>Peterson, *Sverige i Amerika*, pp. 72-73.

<sup>42</sup>Lundstedt, *Svenska Tidningar och Tidskrifter utgifna inom Nord-Amerikas Föreanta Stater*, Stockholm, 1886.

<sup>43</sup>Söderström, *Blixtar på Tidnings, Horinsten*, Warroad, Minn., 1910.

<sup>44</sup>Peterson, *Sverige i Amerika*, p. 297.

rather than to the Swedes alone. Its importance was negligible.) *Hemlandet* was a semi-political and religious paper, and undoubtedly Hasselquist hoped to serve his church, the interests of the Lutheran church, through its pages.<sup>45</sup> But he clearly stated that one of his chief reasons for publishing the newspaper was to assist the immigrant in adjusting himself to American conditions by teaching him American history, by informing him of political conditions, and in general making him a useful citizen. The privilege of suffrage was something new to the immigrant; it was a privilege which Hasselquist sought to protect from misuse.<sup>46</sup> Due to the small number of immigrants arriving in the United States in the '50's *Hamlandet* predicted that within only a few years the use of the Swedish language by the immigrants would be supplanted by English,<sup>47</sup> and he therefore urged the parents to teach their children English.<sup>48</sup> The Nestor of the Swedish-American press hated the term "foreigner" and did not wish to have the Swedes gain an unfavorable reputation among the Americans. Here we can plainly see the effect of Know-Nothingism on the Swedish immigrant.<sup>49</sup>

A careful study of the first competitors of *Hemlandet*—*Den Svenska Republikanen i Norra Amerika* (1856-1858), edited by S. Cronsjo; *Minnesota Posten* (1857-1858), edited by Erik Norelius; and *Frihetsvännen* (1859-1861), the organ of the Swedish Baptist church—did not reveal any attempt on the part of these newspapers to delay Americanization. The Swedes became good Republicans, with which party they affiliated themselves. The services of the Swedish immigrant in the Civil War, his love for the preservation of the Union can to no small extent be attrib-

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<sup>45</sup>Ander, *Hasselquist*.

<sup>46</sup>*Hemlandet*, G. o. N., Jan. 3, 1855.

<sup>47</sup>*Ibid.*, Feb. 15, 1856.

<sup>48</sup>*Ibid.*, May 20, 1857.

<sup>49</sup>*Ibid.*, Aug. 12, 1857.

uted to the influence of the press.<sup>50</sup> One cannot even say that the press sought to foster the language of the immigrant. After the Civil War more than one attempt was made to start a newspaper devoted to the interests of the Swedish immigrants but written in English; but the effects of new waves of immigrants caused these to fail.<sup>51</sup> Even in the '80's one of the most influential Swedish newspapers hoped that the Swedish language would not be the language of the second generation of immigrants. That paper was the *Svenska Tribunen*, a continuation in Swedish of a genuine effort to start a "Swedish newspaper in English"—namely, *The Illinois Swede*, whose motto had been: "Our adopted country first!"<sup>52</sup> Other papers might not have gone as far in the spirit of patriotism as to advocate a policy which rapidly would have made them unnecessary. But as *Svenska Tribunen* represented the extreme on one hand, *Hemlandet*, which had come under the influence of a new editor in 1870, was believed to represent conservatism and the preservation of the Swedish language. Truly, *Hemlandet* was sounding a new note or sounding an old note so strongly that it appeared to be new. Hasselquist, as its editor from 1855 to 1858, had repeatedly recommended certain American newspapers to the immigrants, and as the most influential member of the Swedish Lutheran Publication Society, purchaser of the paper in 1858, he continued to recommend through its pages such papers as the *New York World* and the *Chicago Tribune*.<sup>53</sup> But the new editor appointed by the Society in 1870, John A. Enander, represented the immigrants arriving after the Civil War. He was essentially Swedish in sen-

<sup>50</sup>Swensson, *The Swedes in America*, 1888, p. 10.

<sup>51</sup>*Nya Verlden*, Feb. 15, 1872; *Hemlandet*, G. o. N., Aug. 16, 1870; *Scandinavia*, 1883-1884. (Since publishing his book on the life of T. N. Hasselquist, the writer has found all the copies of this interesting journal, which tried to preserve a love for Swedish culture through the medium of the English language.)

<sup>52</sup>Beckman, *Amerikanska Studier*, pp. 108-109.

<sup>53</sup>*Hemlandet*, G. o. N., March 10, 1869.

timent, and was stimulated by an exalted opinion of himself and his mission.<sup>54</sup> His mission was to preserve the Swedish language and customs in America.<sup>55</sup> He also hoped to create "a Swedish-American literature," and his work in these respects probably was of some importance. But Enander was not un-American; he was patriotic and loyal to his country of adoption, and like Hasselquist, hoped that the Swedes would be able to leave the heritage of Sweden to their children and thus, perhaps, to America as a whole. Enander was very active in politics, touring the various states campaigning for the Republican party and continuing in *Hemlandet* its old policy of immediate "political" Americanization. Shortly before elections *Hemlandet*, pointing with pride to "wholesale" naturalization procedures of Swedes for the sake of the Grand Old Party, regularly urged Swedes to take out their citizenship papers. In 1880 Enander, whose pro-Swedish sentiments may have been tempered by time, complained that the arrival of a large number of new immigrants forced the paper to be more Swedish than he desired.<sup>56</sup> Undoubtedly Enander regarded his *History of the United States*, written in Swedish, as one of his greatest contributions to the Americanization of the Swedes. *Hemlandet* had more enemies than friends among the Swedish-American newspapers and always had to be on its guard. It was closely associated with the Augustana Synod even after Bonander and Enander had purchased the paper from the Swedish Lutheran Publication Society in 1872. The pietism of Hasselquist and his continuous attacks on the "evil" secular press, had led to a relentless war between the Synod and the press. Consequently, any paper connected with the Synod might easily be stamped as un-American for the slightest cause, for the press accused the

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<sup>54</sup>*Hemlandet*, G. o. N., Feb. 15, 1870.

<sup>55</sup>*Ibid.*, Nov. 28, 1871.

<sup>56</sup>John A. Enander to Erik Norelius, Chicago, Ill., June 2, 1880.



Augustana Synod of being ultra-Swedish; the charge of un-Americanism was considered by the entire press as the worst possible.<sup>57</sup> Since the press had to seek the favor of the incoming immigrants, it is surprising how thoroughly American, especially in politics, the press had become. The entire press had followed, though probably more or less unconsciously, the program laid down by Hasselquist in the first issues of *Hemlandet*, a program including the necessity of important contributions on the part of the immigrant to American culture. The most noteworthy change taking place in the press between 1855-1890 was related to the question of politics. Up to 1870 the press had stressed the necessity of voting as a sacred duty and a privilege of every American citizen,<sup>58</sup> but the press had not urged the Swedes to enter the field of politics. After 1870 the Swedish vote had become an important consideration for the political parties, with the result that the papers now with one accord urged the Republican party to reward the Swedes' faithfulness with "political jobs."<sup>59</sup> Certainly the Swedish press had become "politically" Americanized!

Naturally, in many other respects the press was essentially Swedish, with news from Sweden, news from Swedish settlements in America. The newspapers reprinted Swedish novels, recalled the deeds of Swedish heroes, and in other ways continually reminded the immigrants that they were the descendants of the Vikings. Old-country love was kept alive by the press, whose policy was inspired by new immigrants, new connections with Sweden. The result of this editorial appeal to ancestral pride, coupled with the constant appeal for Americanization, created Swedish-Americanism; a double love, a love for two countries, America and

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<sup>57</sup>*Hemlandet*, G. o. N., March 16, 1877; Enander-Hasselquist correspondence.

<sup>58</sup>*Hemlandet*, G. o. N., 1855-1870.

<sup>59</sup>*Nya Verlden*, Sept. 21, 1871; *Svenska Amerikaneren*, Sept. 11, 1890.



Sweden. Swedish-Americanism affected most of the immigrants of the second generation. The chief spokesman for Swedish-Americanism was the influential Rev. C. A. Swensson, who was born in the United States and educated at Augustana College and Theological Seminary. He was an eloquent speaker and a popular campaign speaker for the Republican party.

As Swedish-Americanism expressed itself in its popular representative, it was boastful; boastful of the history of Sweden, of its literature, boastful of the accomplishments of the Swedish immigrant in America.<sup>60</sup> It also expressed itself in a pride of "being American"; it asserted that Swedish-Americanism was essentially American—that its love for America came before its love for Sweden.<sup>61</sup> The best illustration of this Swedish-Americanism is a political speech, in all probability delivered by Swensson, in which it was stated: "To be a Swede in Europe is to be the best thing in Europe; to be an American is the best thing in America; but to be a Swedish-American is to be the best thing in the world."<sup>62</sup> This feeling infested the very fibre of the Swedish-American; for example, when Hasselquist in 1890 sought for someone in Sweden to fill a faculty vacancy at Augustana College and Theological Seminary (having failed earlier to find a qualified "American"), the spokesmen of Swedish-Americanism rose in opposition nearly as one man. They asserted that neither a Swede educated in Sweden nor an "American" could understand the Swedish-Americans. They advocated Swedish-American for Swedish-Americans.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>60</sup>Swensson, *I Sverge*, pp. 33-35.

<sup>61</sup>Swensson, *Address delivered at Dedication of the New College Building in Rock Island, Ill., 1889*.

<sup>62</sup>Swensson, *Vid Hemmets Hård*, p. 373.

<sup>63</sup>It might be of interest to note that the ministers of the Augustana Synod according to Prof. George M. Stephenson were proud of their American citizenship. Stephenson writes: "The files of the church papers embalm many letters from pastors who, sojourning in the land of the midnight

Such were the conditions among the Swedish immigrants in 1890—the church and the press forced by circumstances into a feeling of Swedish-Americanism. But the facts that the Swedish immigrant had become loyal to America, learned to love it, and that he performed his civil duties were largely due to the service rendered by these two forces.<sup>64</sup> It is not necessary, however, to underestimate other factors for the relatively rapid Americanization of the Swedish immigrant, such as the small percentage of illiteracy among the immigrants,<sup>65</sup> the reading of local “American” papers,<sup>66</sup> his ability to learn the English language without much difficulty,<sup>67</sup> the similarity of Swedish and American ideals,<sup>68</sup> dislike for the term “foreigner,”<sup>69</sup> and above all, the fact that he had come to America of his own free will and intended to make that country—where he found conditions ideal—his home.<sup>70</sup>

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sun, gave thanks to God that the Stars and Stripes waved over the land that gave their children birth.” *The Religious Aspects of Swedish Immigration*, 1932, p. 396.

<sup>64</sup>*Augustana*, June 19, 1890; *Framåt*, March 26, 1890.

<sup>65</sup>Flom, “The Scandinavian Factor in America,” *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Vol. III, p. 90.

<sup>66</sup>Beckman, *Amerikanska Studier*, p. 109.

<sup>67</sup>*Framåt*, May 21, 1887.

<sup>68</sup>Thomas, *Sweden and the Swedes*, Chicago and New York, 1892, p. 740-741.

<sup>69</sup>*Svenska-Amerikanaren*, Dec. 25, 1885.

<sup>70</sup>Stephenson, “The Background of the Beginning of Swedish Immigration,” *American Historical Review*, Vol. 31, p. 709. A somewhat different view from that presented on the topic of Americanization of the Swedes can be found in Stephenson’s *Religious Aspect of Swedish Immigration*, pp. 416-437, although it can be said that the finding of Stephenson in the most important points are not contrary to those discussed by the writer of this article. Prof. A. F. Schersten of Augustana College has also made a study of the importance of Swedish-American newspapers in the process of Americanization, but of a much later period. Prof. Schersten claims that the newspapers have only been of secondary importance in the Americanization of the Swedish immigrant, and that the chief factor has been the length of residence in America, a conclusion which does not contradict, but rather strengthens the views presented in this paper. Prof. Schersten’s article is not yet published.

# WHO BUILT MONKS' MOUND?

*By* W. H. WHITLOCK

Who were the Mound Builders? This has been a question to conjure with. The best thinkers of America have wrestled with it. Three general theories have been advanced: (1) They were an ancient race now lost to history. (2) They were the Indians themselves. (3) They were invaders who conquered the native Indians, enslaved them for a time, then were overcome by them and driven out or annihilated.

Continued excavations of the mounds, now on the most scientific basis yet possible, indicate that there may be truth in each of these theories, but that all are too general. The study is fast passing from the general to the particular; hence this subject,—“Who Built Monks' Mound?”

Monks' Mound is the largest mound of the extensive Cahokia Group, across the Mississippi River from St. Louis. It is the largest man-made mound on earth. The earliest white explorers found it on the west side of the river near the point of what they called “The Peninsula”—a narrow neck of land formed by the river cutting across the valley to the east bluffs, making a sharp turn back west and south, then with windings and curves, entering the present channel south of where St. Louis now stands. Long Lake, Horseshoe Lake, and others are the remains of the ancient channel or channels and mark their location. The present channel at the foot of the west bluffs on which St. Louis is built, divided the mound group. The undivided group extended over the site of both St. Louis and East St. Louis. Some twenty-eight of the mounds were destroyed in the building of these cities. A careful student must keep in mind the

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fact that, originally, the group was undivided and was all west of the Mississippi.

There is an unbroken succession of mounds for miles in every direction from this central Cahokia group. Similar characteristics are found in all, but there are also notable differences. The next largest mound after Monks' Mound, in the entire territory, is Emerald Mound, some twenty miles almost due east of Monks' Mound. It is out of the river valley on the upland prairie. It should be kept in mind that, in that ancient time, it was on the opposite side of the Mississippi River from Monks' Mound. They have points in common. They are both truncated (flat top) pyramids. It is surrounded by many burial mounds which in no way differ from the many like mounds of the Cahokia group. It differs, however, from Monks' Mound in the fact that, while Monks' Mound lies due north to and south with the points of the compass, Emerald Mound lies with a corner to the south and in this diagonal to the points of the compass. The nearest example of such placement is in the Etowah group in Georgia.

Further studies must take account of these differences and likenesses and attempt conclusions in particular instead of in general. This is the trend in the best work today, and begins to make possible such study as this now attempted.

Difficulties grow out of several general facts in the situation:

1. Man has been on the earth for hundreds of thousands of years, perhaps millions.
2. In unthinkable ancient times, man scattered over the entire habitable land of the earth, including America.
3. Primitive man had no fixed abode, but followed the source of his food supply, wherever on earth climate and conditions dictated. In this state of life, customs and the



first rudiments of civilization that grew out of them, were strikingly alike the world over.

4. When man began to choose fixed places of abode, differences began to appear, growing out of separation.

5. Within and through these differences many original and universal likenesses persistently continued.

6. All stages of development of civilization are to be found at any given time in varying locations. Stone Age people, Bronze Age people, Lake-Dweller civilization, and dolmen builders are to be found to this day in various places on earth.

7. Centers of human abode remain the same through countless ages, changing races and changing civilizations. From three to nine cities of as many different ages, civilizations and of varying races, have occupied the sites of Babylon, Troy, Ur of the Chaldees, etc. It is so the world over. It is so with the center of population now occupied by St. Louis and surrounding cities.

Man appeared in America in relatively as ancient an age as in Europe or Africa or the Isles of the Pacific. It is now generally conceded that man came to America, not from one source and point, but from several. The Mongoloid types came across Behring Strait from Asia, and migrated south along the west coast. Malayan tribes drifted from Pacific islands to the shores of the Far Southwest. Long-headed men from northwestern Europe came across the land bridge from what is now Scotland to Greenland, of which now only Iceland is above the Atlantic. Others with craniums measuring between the broad-headed Mongoloid and the long-headed European, came into the middle Atlantic West Indies and adjoining shores. Many think they came across the ocean from the east on a land bridge of the middle Atlantic—the fabled Atlantis—to many now accounted historic. Anthropologists cite as examples of these various



types: the long-headed Iroquois and Algonquin tribes of the Northeast, the Toltec and Colhuan tribes of the Middle East, and the broad-headed Mongoloid Aztecs of the West.

With these facts in mind, ask the question: Who were the Mound Builders? The answer must be: Almost every race of man on earth, at some stage of his development, has builded mounds. The Bible has the story of the Tower of Babel, which was a mound built by that ancient race in the valley of the Euphrates River on which to take refuge in time of flood. Many mounds of the Cahokia group were built for the same purpose. In many another river valley like mounds can be found. Homer records in his "Iliad" that when Achilles buried his friend, Patroclus, he sacrificed twelve Trojans, deposited their remains with that of his friend, and raised a mound of earth over their bodies. He also writes that a great mound was built over the grave of Hector. Burial mounds may be found in favorite human centers of abode over most of the earth.

In all the mound centers of America the simple burial mound is found. These may have been built by various tribes of people who, from time to time, have lived in the population center. Many different tribes of American Indians have been known to build mounds over the remains of their honored dead. As the form and size of these mounds are known to have differed in accordance with the importance of the person thus honored and of the vogue of the day, it is possible that many of the mounds of a great group may have been built by different peoples in widely different ages and stages of civilization.

Mounds of still different nature and evidently for other purposes than for burial, raise the further question as to who might have built them. This can only be determined by the discovery of parallels, similarities, relationships, etc. Little will be determined by evidence which comes out of the age

when very ancient man was doing about the same things in about the same way with about the same implements and accoutrements the world over. Differentiations must be sought from the more recent periods of separation in various fixed places of abode.

The above principle can be followed, using Monks' Mound as an illustration. It is very evident that this mound, which is a flat-topped pyramid whose base covers between thirteen and sixteen acres, which has three different levels, the highest of which is a hundred feet above the plain on which it stands, with a well-defined road leading to the top, has little in common with the low-walled earthwork inclosures of the Ohio valley, showing little heed to direction, and as little with the effigy mounds of all the various sizes and shapes which are found farther north. It is convincingly evident that the builders of these unrelated mounds were different peoples.

Points of difference eliminate possibilities. By the same law of reasoning, points of likeness suggest possibilities. Monks' Mound is a flat-topped pyramid. So is Emerald Mound, the next largest mound in the central Mississippi valley. It lies some twenty miles almost due east of Monks' Mound, in ancient times across the river and in the upland prairie. This is the only such mound in this section outside the Cahokia group, but there are others in the Etowah group in Georgia and in the lower Mississippi valley. This suggests that the related truncated pyramid mounds are found southward of the group we are studying. But the Emerald and the Etowah mounds lie diagonally with the points of the compass, while Monks' Mound and related mounds lie with the points of the compass. Therefore, while there is a relation, the difference suggests that it is a distant relation. A different people built Emerald Mound on the east side of the Mississippi from those who built Monks' Mound on the west side.

Since the lead in the investigation is plainly southward, the next inquiry naturally is: Are there other truncated pyramids to be found in the South? It is well known that there are such in the Mayan ruins of Yucatan and Central America. These flat-topped pyramids have the further likeness to Monks' Mound in that they also lie with the points of the compass. Only a few ancient peoples knew the directions of north, south, east and west—the Egyptians, the Babylonians, these particular Mound Builders, the Mayans, the Incas of Peru, etc. It is, therefore, very significant that the builders of Monks' Mound knew the directions now indicated by the compass.

It is further significant that Monks' Mound could serve every religious purpose known to have been served by the Mayan temples in Mexico. Of its three elevations, the highest was a limited portion of the top which rises a full hundred feet above the plain; the second is the major portion of the top, some several hundred square feet in extent and six to eight feet below the first; the third is about sixty feet below this and large enough to have accommodated an extensive village of primitive dwellings. The lower levels face toward the south. The upper levels are reached by a well laid out roadway. These are the same features of the Mayan ruins and also of the related temples of the Montezumians found by Cortez when he conquered Mexico. The relation of Monks' Mound to these structures is inescapable.

There are other significant things in common between the Cahokia people and the people of Mexico. Cortez found the people of Mexico to be predominantly agricultural. Their chief crop and food was maize—Indian corn. They also raised beans, squash, gourds, melons, and related vegetables. The builders of Monks' Mound were also predominantly agricultural and raised the same food crops as above.

James G. Frazer in *The Golden Bough* shows, from a life-long study, that like seasons and like crops of food supply make like religious customs, practices and beliefs among various peoples. The religious customs, practices and beliefs of the peoples of Mexico are known to historic times. Every tendency of human development indicates that the people who built Monks' Mound and the like mounds of the Lower Mississippi mound culture, had the same religious customs, practices and beliefs as the builders of the Mayan ruins and the historic temples related to them in Mexico, and that Monks' Mound was a temple mound in distinction from the domiciliary mounds about it, evidently built by the same people, and the various and sundry burial mounds of the entire region which might have been built by various and sundry peoples in various and sundry ages who have from age to age lived in this particularly desirable center of human habitation.

Does it then seem reasonable that the Mayans built Monks' Mound? It does not. The Mayan ruins are not mounds, though some are closely related to them. They are structures built of advanced masonry and metal works. They represent an advance of ages of civilization over the mound builder age. The relationship, however, is inescapable and should find reasonable, recorded connection.

These records exist and have come down to historical times. Every finding of archaeology substantiates their truth and dependability. Men who followed Cortez into Mexico learned the ancient languages of Mexico and studied their ancient documents—Torquemada, Abbe Brasseur de Bourbourg, and others. In Foster's *Prehistoric Races of the United States* ancient records are quoted that recount, in substance, the following history:

The Toltecs or Nahuas lived on the lower Tampico and Panuco rivers. They had come into that country from a



more undesirable coast to the north and east which they named Tlapalan. Originally they had had a great empire far to the north and east which they then called Huehue Tlapalan—Huehue meaning “old”—Old Tlapalan. This was a favored land and represented their glorious past. In Old Tlapalan they were attacked by the savage tribes who lived on their borders. These they termed Chichunecs—barbarians or savages. These tribes formed a great confederacy under one war leader, and in a thirteen years' war drove the Toltecs entirely out of the land. They stopped for an age in Tlapalan, the description of which fits exactly the more unfavorable coasts of what is now Texas. They then moved southward into the Tampico valley where their city was Panuco.

Torquemada found records in Mexico which described them as of fine appearance, intelligent, industrious, of orderly habits, and workers in metals. The central government was very strong, a communistic state, enforcing labor, enforcing the choice of wives, enforcing everything. By only such a government which, further, has abundant food supply, can great works like Monks' Mound, the Pyramids of Egypt, etc., be builded.

Leaving only a small colony on the Tampico and Panuco rivers, the major portion of the Toltecs or Nahuas moved on farther southward into what is now Yucatan and Central America. Into this land before them had come, by way of the sea, the Colhuas, a splendid people racially related to the Toltecs. They had conquered the native race—the Autochthones—and were building a fine civilization. The incoming Toltecs conquered them and subjugated the combined people to their rule. Then began the age-long process, so often known in history, of the amalgamation of the three peoples into a new race. This new people we now know as the Mayan stock. Under Toltec dominance, but



with fine contributions from the Colhuas and the Autochthones, they built the Mayan ruins of Palenque, Copan, Uxmal, etc. The best authorities today say the Mayans came from the far north. Since the Toltecs were the dominant element of the Mayan stock, and they came from the far north, it is natural that this historical conclusion should be reached.

After many centuries, this Mayan stock was conquered by the combined tribes of the northwest under Aztec rule, and again, conquered and conquerers together built the wonderful temples of Mexico City, etc., found by the Spaniards when they came. This accounts for the continued similarities of architectural design and purposes.

This recorded history fully accounts for all the similarities noted between the structure of Monks' Mound, the Mayan ruins and the historic temples of Mexico. It explains the connection of the Cahokia mound group with the Lower Mississippi mound culture. It warrants the conclusion that that great Toltec Empire of Huehue Tlapalan was in the middle Mississippi valley; that Monks' Mound was its central shrine of worship; that its capital city of primitive dwellings occupied the endless village sites known to extend far and wide over the river valley, covering the present sites of St. Louis and East St. Louis,—both at that time on the same side of the river, it should be remembered. This would exactly correspond to the arrangement of the great Mayan and Mexican cities. This conclusion is further strengthened by the fact that the Monks' Mound center occupies the same relative location in the Mississippi valley as do the Pyramids of Egypt to the Nile, and the city of Babylon to the Euphrates valley, the two great, ancient empires of the East which, according to the date suggestion hereinafter mentioned, were contemporaries of this Mississippi valley empire of Huehue Tlapalan.

## WHO BUILT MONKS' MOUND?

The conclusion is thus justified that Monks' Mound was built by the Toltecs or Nahuas, known to history as recounted above. The noted relationship between Monks' Mound and Emerald Mound, which, in turn, is related to the mounds on the Etowah River in Georgia, further suggests that the Toltecs and the builders of Etowah and Emerald Mounds are related peoples. Anthropologists, by the principles by which they classify races, have classed the Toltecs and the Colhuas of the Mayan stock as kindred peoples. All this southern relationship would suggest that the Toltecs in unknown ancient times originally came into the Mississippi valley from the south. When, therefore, they met the Indians they met an entirely unrelated people, whether it was the long-headed former European from the northeast or the broad-headed Mongoloid from the northwest.

Every line of reasoning through these relationships would suggest that the most common, universal feature of worship on Monks' Mound would include human sacrifice. This was true of the Mayans and of the Montezumians of Mexico City. Victims for sacrifice were always captured from neighboring tribes when possible. This would engender the bloodiest enmity between the Toltecs and the Indian tribes of the land, and, added to the enmity commonly found between unrelated peoples,—the fact pointed out above—would reasonably account for the causes that led to the Thirteen Years' War of the Toltecs' record in which the Empire was overthrown and the Toltecs forever driven from the land.

Principles of military strategy would indicate that the line of battle in this warfare would be east of the Mississippi as far up the Ohio valley and with as wide flanking territory as the Toltecs were able to press it. This would reasonably account for the many prehistoric stone forts, earthwork fortifications, and other military remains and evidences found

scattered over the southern portions of Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio, and over Kentucky and Tennessee.

There is one more question of fascinating interest: Is there any possible date suggestion as to when the Toltecs built Monks' Mound and ruled their great Empire of old Tlapalan? There is only this: The earliest date clearly indicated in the ancient Toltec record above mentioned is 955 B. C. At this date they had already been driven out of their great empire by the 'Thirteen Years' War. If our reasoning has been sound, their empire fell at least a thousand years before Christ. How long it had existed, when it began, at what time in its history this great temple mound might have been built as its central shrine, is all lost in the yet unlighted dawn of human history. If the study of American antiquity progresses in the coming fifty years as the study of the antiquity of the Nile or the Euphrates valleys has progressed in the last fifty years, we shall come to know answers to the above questions. It is of fascinating interest to have this fairly dependable indication that the builders of Monks' Mound had a great ancient empire here that was contemporary with the great, ancient empires of Babylon and of Egypt, and their last rulers were contemporaries of Nebuchadnezzar I. or of Tiglath-pileser I. of Babylon, or of King David of Jerusalem and Hiram of Tyre.

Conjectures! Yes; and most every one questioned by men eminent in scholarship, from the assumption of any mound being called a temple-mound to the change of the river channel; but scarcely anything new, for the main conclusion that the Toltecs built Monks' Mound has been accepted by historians for years; e.g., Foster, in *Prehistoric Races* published in 1873; Baldwin, in *Ancient America* published in 1871; the works of Brasseur de Bourbourg many years ear-

lier, etc. These authorities seem even to have granted that all Mound Builders were not the same people, because they always say that the Toltecs built the mounds in the Mississippi and Ohio valleys.

HISTORICAL NOTES  
THE BUCHANAN-DOUGLAS FEUD  
(*Continued*)

State Teachers College,  
Duluth, Minnesota,  
June 2, 1933.

Mr. Paul M. Angle, Editor  
Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,  
Springfield, Illinois.

Dear Mr. Angle:

The article of Dr. Richard R. Stenberg, "An Unnoted Factor in the Buchanan-Douglas Feud," in the *Journal* of the Illinois State Historical Society for January, 1933, leads me to believe that the Douglas-Buchanan Feud is not such a dead issue as might be supposed. A difference of opinion or of interpretation would not prompt me to trouble you with a letter. But Doctor Stenberg claims in a very important part of his article that on August 11, 1859, in a letter written at Wheatland near Lancaster, Buchanan admitted he was actively seeking a renomination while on a trip to Richmond in 1859, and confessed by letter that he was deceiving some of his correspondents in denying that he wished to become a candidate for the Presidency in 1860. In citing this missive the Doctor quotes an art catalogue in which the letter was listed for sale. Without going into Buchanan's thoughts for the present, I deny that the President on that day in Lancaster penned any such confession. In the first place there is no record in either the *Herald* or the *Tribune* of the few days previous of any trip of the Chief Executive to Richmond. Such a trip could not have failed to attract



attention since Buchanan, despite his secretive nature, could not easily at his eight and sixty years have hidden his huge figure under a bushel nor under a train or boat seat. Moreover, he was not in Lancaster on August 11, 1859, but in Washington. From my book, which Doctor Stenberg has deigned to mention, it would appear that Buchanan was in Washington on the fifth of August, 1859. Associated Press dispatches to the *Herald* and *Tribune* (see those papers for August 12th for items of the day preceding) happily inform us that on the very day when Doctor Stenberg pictures Buchanan penning the wily letter at Lancaster, the President was actually in the White House entertaining a delegation of teachers who visited him for a pleasant afternoon. At that time the venerable executive stressed the values of religion in the education of the youth. The day before, which was the tenth, the Belgian Minister presented his credentials to the President. This event also took place in Washington.

From the files of the *Morning Pennsylvanian* (August 2, 3, 1859), we find that Buchanan and a group left Bedford, Pennsylvania, where he was wont to take the waters for a few days each summer, on August 1st. The party reached Cumberland, Maryland, that night, and arrived in Washington on the evening of August 2nd. This certainly was no trip to Richmond, nor was Wheatland near Lancaster visited.

In the letter which Doctor Stenberg claims to have been written on August 11, 1859, to Judge Campbell is a mention of a convention coming on the next 4th of March. That reference would mean March 4, 1860. There was no Democratic convention held in Pennsylvania on that day. The Democrats organized their final convention at Reading on February 29th, and adjourned before March 4th. (See Portsmouth, Va., *Daily Transcript*, March 2, 3, 1860. Also

## HISTORICAL NOTES

New York *Tribune* March 2, 7, 1860.) There was also an "opposition" convention of anti-Buchanan men, Cameronites, and anti-slavery men held at Harrisburg<sup>1</sup> on February 22, 23. (New York *Tribune*, February 6, 21, 24, 1860.) Some papers refer to it as the Peoples Party Convention. Other conventions may have been held at Harrisburg of state or district nature on other dates, but I find none on March 4, 1860.

Let us now proceed to examine Doctor Stenberg's new discovery on its own merits. Here we find that the citation itself plainly refutes his assertion. Any ordinary reading of the catalogue shows that the letter he places in the summer of 1859 was actually written to Judge Campbell on February 24, 1852, when Buchanan had returned to Wheatland after a visit in Richmond. If any interested person will turn to Curtis' *Life of James Buchanan*, Volume II, page 20, he will note that Buchanan wrote to his niece, Miss Lane, on the very same day, February 24, 1852, in almost the same language used in his letter to Judge Campbell. In both letters Buchanan mentions his return from Richmond. On pages 24-26 of the same volume is a political letter written while he was in Richmond. This letter was also printed in the New York *Herald* in 1852.

In this instance the mention of a convention on March 4th appears to be correct because on March 4, 1852, the Democrats met in convention at Harrisburg. The Buchanan men had a large majority of the delegates. (*New Hampshire Patriot*, March 10, 1852.)<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Buchanan mentions the possibility of delegates hostile to himself going from Philadelphia to Harrisburg in the fall of 1859 but does not give the date of such meeting. (Buchanan to Judge Campbell, October 29, 1859 [mistyped November, 1859, in my article] Historical Society of Pennsylvania.) The letter also speaks of events occurring in the summer and fall of 1859.

<sup>2</sup>The papers other than of my own collection were obtained from the Minnesota Historical Society and the Library of the University of Pennsylvania.

The document listed in the catalogue on August 11, 1859, will be seen to have nothing to do with Judge Campbell and pertains to our relations with Nicaragua. It is dated from Washington which is just where the early part of this letter shows Buchanan to have been. The catalogue in both cases seems correct as far as the evidence is submitted. Perhaps some future Douglas zealot, or Buchanan hater, or historian, may find such a letter of Buchanan as Doctor Stenberg seems so ardently to seek. To this I have no objection provided the document does not exist save in the shadow land of dreams. One thing is certain, and that is that the discovery of the "unnoted factor" did not appear on page 49 of the catalogue of the American Art Association, Inc., of New York City announcing the sale of the property of William W. Cohen, on February 5-6, 1929.

With kindest regards, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

Philip Auchampaugh.

## "THE GREAT AMERICAN LAND BUBBLE"

(*A Book Review*)\*

When a representative of an American publishing house requested a prominent historian in one of our eastern institutions to write a history of land speculation in the United States he was asked "In how many volumes?" Professor Sakolski, however, has attempted this task within the limited space of 353 pages.

The title of the work at once suggests that the author is attempting a journalistic account of the great epic of the dis-

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\**The Great American Land Bubble: The Amazing Story of Land-Grabbing, Speculations, and Booms from Colonial Days to the Present Time*; by A. M. Sakolski, Assistant Professor of Finance, College of the City of New York. (New York, Harper & Brothers, 1932, pp. xii, 373.)

posal of the public domain. The opening paragraph clearly indicates this: "America, from its inception, was a speculation. It was a speculation to Columbus. It was considered a speculation by the kings of Spain, France and England" (p. 1). Thus is established the tone which is continued throughout the book, a tone of reproach and condemnation rather than of appreciative understanding. One cannot expect, therefore, to find any clear analysis of the forces of speculation, or any adequate evaluation of the influence of the "land speculator" in American development.

In the use of material Professor Sakolski has been somewhat careless. He has borrowed from other writers without giving due credit (although he has listed many references in his footnotes); he has not used any of the extant manuscript material, some of which is available in his own city of New York, and without which no satisfactory treatment of land speculation can be prepared; and, judging by his index and footnotes, he has neglected to use such indispensable works as Akagi's *Town Proprietors of the New England Colonies*, Alvord's *Mississippi Valley in British Politics*, Bond's *The Quit-Rent System in the American Colonies*, Hibbard's *History of the Public Land Policies*, and Donaldson's *The Public Domain*.

Because of his close dependence upon secondary accounts, the author has presented little more than a series of episodes already familiar to the historian. The speculative activities of Washington, Robert and Gouverneur Morris, the Ohio Land Company, the Yazoo land companies, and the Holland Land Company are already well known and the author has given us nothing new concerning them. On the other hand, the Susquehanna Land Company, whose historical significance has led to the project of publishing twelve volumes of its papers, is given a paltry three pages. The episodic treatment lends itself well, in this instance, to the cre-



ation of a dramatic story but that is all that one finds. No attempt is made to explain the operation of the federal land system, the speculators' influence on politics is not adequately treated, and no discussion of the immense frauds committed in the disposal of the swamp, education and agricultural college lands is given.

To the student of Illinois history the book is unsatisfactory. No mention is made of the New York and Boston Illinois Land Company which held over 900,000 acres of land in the Military Tract. The Associates Land Company, which laid out over 30 towns in the state, many of which are today thriving communities, is not mentioned. John Grigg, Joshua Riggs, Asahel Gridley, David Davis, the Morrison family and other prominent speculators are ignored and the vicissitudes of the Cairo land companies are inadequately treated.

Professor Sakolski's discussion of the Illinois Central Railroad is particularly unsatisfactory. Here one finds that the author has depended chiefly upon the two books by Ackerman and, apparently, has made no use of Brownson's more scholarly *History of the Illinois Central Railroad*, nor of Sanborn's *Congressional Grants of Land in Aid of Railways*. The story of the early history of the Illinois Central is so full of errors that it hardly seems worth while to point them out, but some of the more obvious mistakes are given here to bear out the reviewer's point. Sakolski says that Douglas was opposed to a grant of land to the Holbrook company when the records clearly indicate that he was, on the contrary, supporting such a grant. Nor is it correct to say that Douglas "regarded Holbrook and his associates as merely land grabbers and town jobbers. . . ." (p. 279). On the contrary, the relations between the two men were so friendly that Holbrook was writing Douglas in June, 1850, expressing keen solicitude for his health. The statement



## HISTORICAL NOTES

that the alternate section feature of the land grant was "designed primarily to block monopolization of land along the railroad" (p. 280) is wholly unjustified. The statement on "pretty good authority" that Webster was responsible for Rantoul's connection with the Illinois Central is erroneous as is also the view that "Rantoul drew up the charter under Webster's supervision." Sakolski helps to perpetuate the hoary myth that Lincoln was lobbying in 1851 for a rival group of capitalists who were seeking to secure the coveted land grant.

Perhaps enough detail has been given to indicate the manner in which the work has been done. Such loose expressions as "They innovated the idea" (p. 329) and "It granted an alternate section of land, extending six miles . . ." (p. 279) are to be deplored. The omission of a bibliography has further reduced the value of the book.

The author has succeeded in bringing together some of the salient facts in the history of American land speculation and in presenting them in a readable and popular way. His illustrations are well chosen and frequently to the point. He fails, however, to evaluate properly his material, he omits much that is of importance and he has not grasped the significance of the role which the land speculator has played in American development. The epic story of the disposal of the public domain still remains to be written.

Paul W. Gates.

Bucknell University,  
Lewisburg, Pa.

## NEW ENGLAND DINNERS OF THE FIRST CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH OF SPRINGFIELD

On the twenty-second day of December, 1870, the First Congregational Church of Springfield, Illinois, held the

first of its annual New England dinners in commemoration of Forefathers' Day.

There were present on that occasion a number of the most eminent citizens of the state, among them General John M. Palmer, soldier and statesman, twice Governor of Illinois, United States Senator and presidential candidate; the Rev. Julian M. Sturtevant, who was a member of that "Yale Band" of historic memory that founded Illinois College at Jacksonville, and who afterwards (in 1867) was a member of the Ecclesiastical Council that organized this, the First Congregational Church of Springfield.

Another member, both of that "Yale Band" and Ecclesiastical Council, also was present, the Rev. Albert Hale, or "Father Hale" as he was universally and affectionately called, and who still lives in the memory of all whose good fortune it was to know him, because of his beneficent ministrations to the needy and unfortunate. Although a Congregationalist, Doctor Hale<sup>1</sup> was for many years pastor of the Second Presbyterian (now Westminster) Church of this city; General Lippincott, who served eight years as Auditor of Public Accounts of the state; Dr. Newton Bateman, for ten years Superintendent of Public Instruction, afterwards President of Knox College, and who also served twelve years as president and member of the Illinois State Board of Health.

The Rev. John Knox McLean, then pastor of the church, afterwards President of the Pacific Theological Seminary, now the Pacific School of Religion at Berkeley, California, delivered the address of welcome.

The program consisted of music, under the direction of

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<sup>1</sup>After his resignation from this pastorate, a number of prominent citizens—among them Mr. R. D. Lawrence, a bank president and one time Mayor of Springfield—subscribed a fund to pay Doctor Hale an annual salary to do general necessary work among the "down and out of the city." To these subscribers he was known as the "Pastor of the Hedges and Ditches."

Mr. George A. Sanders, who for thirty-five years was chorister of the church, and of responses to the following toasts:

"The Pilgrim Fathers"—Rev. Julian Sturtevant

"Statesmanship and Jurisprudence"—Governor John M. Palmer

"The Pulpit"—Rev. Albert Hale

"The Carnal Arm"—Rev. J. M. Gregory

"American Women"—Mr. George A. Sanders

—an interesting array of subjects which the report of the meeting says were entertainingly discussed.

However, the following seem most accurately to portray the character, the vision and the achievements of the Pilgrims.

Doctor Sturtevant, responding to his toast, "The Pilgrim Fathers," said: "We hold them in reverence for what they were. We celebrate them for what they did. In pursuit of religious freedom, they established civil liberty. Meaning to found a church, they gave birth to a nation."

Governor Palmer, speaking on "Statesmanship and Jurisprudence," said: "The Pilgrims paid due honor to these when, before landing, they formed the first written constitution and, being without law and beyond law, but not above law, they became a law unto themselves."

"The Carnal Arm" was the toast assigned to the Rev. J. M. Gregory, who evidently was no pacifist. He responded: "The Fathers had faith in God; but a faith that included works. While Brewster prayed and Bradford ruled, Miles Standish watched and fought. Through his arm came the answer to their prayers. So the sons of the pilgrims, although men of peace, have not scrupled, when need has arisen, to defend and perpetuate the legacy of the fathers by the same—the carnal arm."

Since that memorable day, sixty-two years ago, no December has passed in which the New England dinner of the

First Congregational Church of Springfield, has not been one of the city's outstanding social events.

On its programs have appeared the names of many distinguished men and charming women—masters of oratory and queens of song.

In the beginning the celebration seems to have been participated in chiefly by the members of the church and congregation—just a family dinner—but with the passing of the years it has grown, not quite to a religious observance, but to a public function, sanctified by tender associations and fragrant memories, to which all our friends are welcome.<sup>2</sup>

Springfield, Ill.

John H. Piper.

## ILLINOIS' TWO OLDEST LIVING GOVERNORS

On Saturday, February 28th, 1891, Joseph W. Rickert, Senator from Monroe County, Illinois, a Democrat and staunch supporter of Major General John M. Palmer, was appointed President *pro tem* of the Senate by Lieutenant Governor Ray, a Republican, to preside over the Senate in his absence. Governor Fifer being also absent from the State, Joseph W. Rickert, by virtue of this appointment, was left in charge of the official affairs of the executive office. Senator Rickert took charge of the Senators present (two) as the presiding officer in the continued joint session of the Assembly in which a United States Senator was to be elected, as shown by the Senate Journal of the 37th General Assembly in the year 1891, page 476.

Lieutenant Governor Ray on leaving Springfield, requested J. W. Rickert to accept the office during his absence and to preside over the joint General Assembly.

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<sup>2</sup>For the chief facts mentioned in the above article, I am indebted to the contemporary issues of the *Illinois State Journal*, on file in the Illinois State Historical Library.



"Just before leaving the Senate Chamber in the late afternoon of Feb. 27th," says Senator Rickert, "Lieutenant Governor Ray came to my desk and requested me to represent him as the presiding officer of the Senate in his absence. Being a Democrat, and not believing him to be in earnest about the appointment, I said, 'But Governor, are you not making a mistake by appointing me to the office, being a Democrat?' He smilingly answered, 'No, I appoint you to represent me in this office during my absence'."

When the information of the appointment reached the press, it was widely commented upon throughout the state. From 1857 to that date no Democrat had ever occupied that position, and it was perhaps the only time in the history of the state that a Democrat had ever been appointed to that office by a Republican.

Senator Rickert, by virtue of the appointment, had the unique pleasure of being nominally Governor of the State of Illinois for a period of three days.

Governor Fifer is living in Bloomington, in his ninety-third year, and Governor Rickert is living in Waterloo, in his ninety-second year.

Blackburn College,  
Carlinville, Ill.

Harry E. Pratt.



## HISTORICAL NEWS

The annual meeting of the Madison County Historical Society was held at the court house in Edwardsville on December 3, 1932. The feature of the afternoon was a talk by Mrs. Laura E. Whelpley of St. Louis on the subject, "Indian Life." Following Mrs. Whelpley, J. Nick Perrin of Belleville spoke briefly. The nominating committee then reported. Officers as follows were elected for the year 1933: W. D. Armstrong, Alton, President; Gaius Paddock, Moro, Vice President; C. S. Gillespie, Edwardsville, Secretary; Laura Gonterman, Edwardsville, Treasurer; and Mrs. Annie C. W. Burton, Edwardsville, Historian.

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On January 20 the Morgan County Historical Society met at the Peacock Inn in Jacksonville. Paul M. Angle, Secretary of the Illinois State Historical Society, spoke on the subject, "Lincoln's Use of the Language." Dr. Carl E. Black, Frank J. Heintz and Mrs. C. H. Rammelkamp were elected trustees of the society.

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The Piatt County Historical Society made Washington's Birthday the occasion for meeting in Monticello in connection with the Daughters of the American Revolution and the Rotary Club. Louise Burnham Dunbar spoke on the life and services of George Washington.

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The Edgar County Historical Society met in the Paris Public Library on April 21. Mrs. W. T. Scott of Chrisman, President of the Society, presided, and Paul M. Angle spoke on historical societies and their obligations and opportunities. In connection with the public library the Edgar County Society is actively collecting pictures of historic

places, newspaper clippings and other data, and has a history of the county in preparation.

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On May 26 the Augustana Historical Society and the Rock Island County Historical Society met at Augustana College in Rock Island. Professor O. F. Ander of the Augustana Society presided. John H. Hauberg, President of the Rock Island Society, spoke on the Indian background of Rock Island, and Paul M. Angle spoke on Lincoln as a master of words.

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On February 16 residents of Batavia celebrated the one hundredth anniversary of the settlement of the Fox River Valley. Several hundred men, women and children took part in a pageant depicting the history of Batavia. Included were folk and Indian dances and scenes illustrative of the history of the nation.

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The city of Elgin is already preparing for a Centennial celebration which is to take place in 1935. A centennial association has been chartered, and officers and directors have been elected. Present plans include the publication of a history of Elgin and the construction of a replica of the cabin of James T. Gifford, the city's founder.

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A unique observance was held at New Salem State Park on May 7, the one hundredth anniversary of the appointment of Abraham Lincoln as postmaster of New Salem. The feature of the occasion was the carriage of mail by Boy Scouts from New Salem to Springfield over the route often traveled by Lincoln. A special letter was prepared and sold by the Abraham Lincoln Council, Boy Scouts of America, the proceeds to be used in defraying the expenses of the Lincoln Trail Hike sponsored by the Council. On the back of

the letter was a facsimile of a letter franked by Lincoln as postmaster, while the address side of the letter bore a picture of Lincoln, a reproduction of his signature, engravings of the Lincoln-Berry store and Old State House, and the signature of the Boy Scout who carried the letter.

At 2:30 P. M. several hundred persons gathered at the park. R. Allan Stephens, presiding, explained the Lincoln Trail Hike and its significance; Benjamin P. Thomas spoke on Lincoln as the postmaster of New Salem; and Paul M. Angle spoke on New Salem's influence on Lincoln's life. Music was furnished by the Petersburg High School band.

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On May 28 the Drusilla Andrews Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution marked the grave of Drusilla Andrews Mace. The ceremony was held in the Mace family cemetery at O'Fallon. Mrs. Clara Needles gave a sketch of the life of Drusilla Andrews, and J. Nick Perrin spoke on the pioneers of Illinois.

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Early in February the county offices of Fayette County were removed from the Old State House in Vandalia to new quarters. Plans are now under way for the restoration of this historic building, in which Lincoln and many other famous Illinoisans served as legislators, and to make it an historical museum. During the years which have passed since its construction—it was built in 1836—the old capitol has been considerably modified, but it is believed that intensive research will yield complete information regarding its original appearance and arrangement.

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The annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society was held in April, in Chicago—the first time for many years that the annual meeting has been held elsewhere than Springfield. The Century of Progress, the new building of

the Chicago Historical Society, and the cordial invitation of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association to meet in co-operation with it were the reasons which led the Board of Directors to disregard precedent and choose Chicago as the meeting place.

The meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association lasted from April 13 to April 15. Headquarters were established at the Drake Hotel, but sessions were also held at the Century of Progress, the Chicago Historical Society and Northwestern University. Three entire sessions were devoted to Illinois subjects, and several papers presented at other sessions had an Illinois interest. The attendance throughout the meeting was exceptionally large.

The annual business meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society was held on April 14, when the Directors whose names appear on the inside back cover of the *Journal* were elected.

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The Report of the Board of State Park Advisors, issued December 30, 1932, contains much of promise to those who are interested in the preservation of historic sites in Illinois. Among the Board's recommendations those which follow are especially significant.

FORT CHARTRES STATE PARK. The Board states that through the assistance of the French Consulate in Chicago a research is being made in Paris for the original plans of the old fort buildings. If discovered, restoration of the old barracks, officers' quarters and works is urged. Arrangements are being made to obtain original cannon of the middle 18th century to be mounted at the fort.

Pending such restoration, the Board advises that carefully worded tablets, containing authentic information regarding the fort, be erected. It also suggests that care should be

taken in the museum to restrict exhibits to relics having an actual connection with the fort.

**FORT KASKASKIA AND THE HOME OF PIERRE MENARD.** At Fort Kaskaskia, as at Fort Chartres, the Board recommends restoration in accordance with original plans. In order that the expense may not be unreasonable, it suggests that the stockade and embankments be constructed first, and that the buildings and powder magazine be left until a later period.

With reference to the Pierre Menard Home the Board advises that an agent of the State be authorized to search out and acquire as much of the original Menard furniture as possible. This furniture, and such additional period furniture as may be necessary, should be used to refit the house as it was during Menard's lifetime. The kitchen, now covered with modern siding, should be restored to its original appearance. The water supply and bricked oven should also be restored.

**THE LINCOLN HOMESTEAD.** The Board recommends that the entire house, instead of only the first floor as at present, be opened to visitors. This would necessitate the construction of a separate building for the custodian, which would probably be erected at the end of the lot facing on Jackson Street.

**THE LINCOLN FARM, COLES COUNTY.** Restoration of the Lincoln log cabin near Charleston is urged by the Board. While Lincoln never lived on this site, his parents resided there for a number of years. Moreover, if properly restored, the cabin and farm could be made typical of the period, and thus of real educational value.

**U. S. GRANT HOME, GALENA.** This home, occupied by Grant and his family for a number of years after the Civil War, was deeded to the State in 1932 by the City of Galena. A paragraph from the Board's Report indicates what is



planned to be done here. "A plan has been worked out by the State Architect," the Board states, "for a pathway, separated from the objects of interest by wrought iron rail or fence, thus permitting a steady flow of visitors through the rooms or to the doorway of the rooms, without congestion. This will permit the public to see the interesting historical rooms, furniture, furnishings and relics without having opportunity to injure them. Wall paper of the period has been investigated with a view to restoring the ceiling and walls of all of the rooms which do not have the original covering, with a paper which is typical of the period. Arrangements have been made to obtain such floor covering as is appropriate for the hall, the bedrooms, and other rooms the floors of which are now bare, and negotiations have been practically completed with wallpaper and rug manufacturers for these restorations, free of expense to the State."

The Board's recommendations show a fine appreciation of the historical possibilities of the State's Park System—a spirit for which the people of Illinois should be grateful.

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One of the by-products of the Century of Progress is the number of books dealing with the history of Chicago which are currently appearing. Two of the latest came from the University of Chicago Press. *As Others See Chicago* is a collection of descriptions and impressions of visitors from Marquette in 1673 to G. K. Chesterton and Morris Markey in 1931 and 1932. The other volume is entitled *Checagou*, and is the work of the eminent scholar, Milo M. Quaife. The book covers the period from the visit of the first white man to the mouth of the Chicago River, to the beginning of the modern city in 1835. In his study Doctor Quaife makes material additions to this somewhat hazy period of Chicago's history.

Word has been received that the publication of the first three volumes of the Territorial Papers of the United States, which it was expected would be issued by the Department of State in the early autumn of this year, has been postponed by reason of the economy measures of the Government. The volumes in question, which include a preliminary introduction to the series, and papers concerning the Northwest Territory, will be held in type until such times as funds will again be made available. Copy for volumes embodying the official papers of the Southwest, Mississippi and Indiana Territories are also withheld pending the passage of new appropriations by Congress. In the meantime the Department of State is carrying forward the preparation of copy for other volumes.

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A group of active and retired army officers in Washington is taking steps to form a non-governmental, non-commercial organization to be called The American Military History Foundation. Projects to be accomplished are summarized as follows:

1. To make detailed, comprehensive and co-ordinated plans for work on all phases of our whole military history.

2. To affiliate with organizations that are willing to cooperate.

3. To consolidate data on the location and contents of deposits of source materials pertaining to our military history that now exist in governmental archives, libraries, museums and historical societies, both in this country and abroad; and to facilitate the use of these materials.

4. To assemble, collate, index and preserve all the pertinent nonfederal historical evidence that can be found.

5. To establish a National Military Museum in Washington, D. C., which would serve as headquarters for the organization, provide proper housing for its

archives and educational exhibits, and facilitate the research work of students and historians.

6. To arrange for the collaboration of military men and civilians in the writing of a complete series of first-class military histories.

7. To subsidize the publication and distribution of these histories.

8. To develop in the American people a broad knowledge of the facts of our military history, and an appreciation of their true significance.

Realizing the impossibility of raising a large sum at the present time, the sponsors of the movement have set their goal at \$100,000, the income from which will be sufficient to launch the organization and maintain it during its early years. A meeting to effect a permanent organization will be held in Washington in the near future. All who desire to cooperate in the development of the project are invited to communicate with Lieut. Col. Charles E. T. Lull, Chief of the Historical Section, Army War College, Washington, D. C.

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Since the last number of the *Journal* an unusually large number of deaths of members of the Society have been reported. We record with regret the following: Miss Sallie C. Brown, Springfield; Irving Clark, Brighton; Miss Agnes DuBois, Los Angeles, Cal.; J. A. Gordon, Hamilton; Mrs. Kate D. Huton, Chicago; Miss Lotte E. Jones, Danville; Dana C. Munro, Princeton, N. J.; D. L. Passavant, Zelienople, Pa.; C. L. Simmons, Springfield; and R. V. Stowell, Petersburg. The passing of these people means sincere sorrow to many members of the Society. To their families and friends, the officers extend their deepest sympathy.

## HISTORICAL NEWS

### CONTRIBUTORS

Josephine Boylan, author of "Illinois Highways, 1700-1848," is on the staff of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch. She lives in East St. Louis. Thomas Ewing is a lawyer residing in New York City. The *Journal* for October, 1932, contained an article by him. The article appearing in this number was prepared and delivered as an address nearly twenty years ago, but time only enhances the value of good things. Fritiof Ander is Professor of History at Augustana College, Rock Island, which possesses perhaps the largest body of Swedish-American materials in existence. W. H. Whitlock is a minister who has long been interested in the Mound Builders. His present residence is Fairfield.







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# LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS

## With Some Personal Reminiscences

*By*

*THOMAS WAKEFIELD GOODSPEED\**

My father brought his family to Illinois in 1855 when I was twelve years old. In 1858 I was a student in the preparatory department of Knox College. It was the year of the famous Lincoln-Douglas debates and the college campus was the scene of one of these encounters. No historical event of greater importance than that series of debates ever took place in Illinois. It made Abraham Lincoln President of the United States, led to the redemption of our country from the domination of the slave power, and resulted within five years in the emancipation of a race. Nothing like it ever aroused and through three months sustained such extraordinary popular interest. Illinois then had less than one fourth its present population. Railroads were few. The number of newspapers was comparatively small. Yet so great was the public interest that the people gathered in enormous numbers to hear these two great men, and stood for three hours, closely packed together listening with absorbed attention.

What occasioned this extraordinary popular interest? What were the things that had so aroused the people? There were four very definite things. (1) The repeal of the Missouri Compromise opening the territories to slavery, for which Mr. Douglas was directly responsible. (2) The crime against Kansas. The border ruffians had not only invaded Kansas, burning towns, killing citizens and stealing

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\*This paper was written in 1921, six years before the death of the author.

elections, but had set up a bogus legislature and sent to Congress a slave constitution which President Buchanan and a Senate dominated by the slave power were determined to force on the people of the proposed new state. (3) The brutal assault on Sumner had recently occurred in the Senate Chamber. (4) And to crown all, the most recent infamy, the Dred Scott decision of the Supreme Court had told the country that the constitution secured to every slave holder the right to take his slaves into any territory and that neither Congress nor a territorial legislature had the slightest authority to interfere. It was a popular saying of that day that under the Dred Scott decision a black man had no rights that a white man was bound to respect.

The South was in the saddle. The slave power was unbearably arrogant. It would brook no opposition. Great masses in the North were its obedient tools.

All these things had aroused popular feeling throughout the North to a high pitch of moral indignation. The republican party had been formed in 1854. A great number of Northern democrats had revolted and joined it. The Northern whigs went over, almost in a body, and that party practically disappeared. All the old parties were more or less disorganized in the North and recruits entered the new party from the democrats, whigs, free soilers, know-nothings or Americans, and abolitionists.

But for the people of Illinois a new complication arose in the early months of 1858. Senator Douglas, who had started all this agitation by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, who had opened the territories to slavery, who had approved the Dred Scott decision, now himself revolted against the conspiracy of Buchanan and the slave oligarchy to force the fraudulent slave constitution on Kansas. He had devised the doctrine of popular sovereignty for the territories, in which he took great pride, and now insisted that Kansas must have an opportunity for a free, fair, full vote



on the Lecompton constitution. He declared that he didn't care whether slavery was voted down or voted up, but there must be a free and fair election. Only two or three democratic senators stood with him, but in the House of Representatives, twenty democrats braved the wrath of the administration and of the South, and voted to give Kansas a chance—a very poor one indeed, but still a chance, for life. If it adopted the slave constitution, it was to be admitted to the Union as a state. Otherwise it must remain a territory. Mr. Douglas refused to be a party to this grudging concession and in a courageous and manly way insisted that her people should have the amplest opportunity to express themselves, adopt their own constitution and enter the Union without delay.

He returned to Illinois in July of 1858 to inaugurate his campaign for re-election to the United States Senate amid the plaudits of the lovers of freedom in all parties for this valiant fight for popular rights. Horace Greeley and the New York Tribune suggested that all parties in Illinois should unite in returning him to the Senate as the representative of all the people of the state. Prominent republicans in all the states favored this policy. There were reports that Mr. Douglas was headed for the republican camp and might be brought within the fold.

But in Illinois, the republicans, as a whole, distrusted Mr. Douglas. They took no stock in his possible conversion, and regarded him as the most subtle, capable and dangerous enemy of republican principles. They, therefore, repudiated the gratuitous advice of their friends in other states, and at their state convention in Springfield in June, 1858, they nominated Mr. Lincoln by acclamation as their first and only choice for Senator.

It is clear that Mr. Douglas, returning from Washington immediately after his noble championship of the cause of Kansas, entered on his campaign for re-election with every

advantage. He was at that moment the foremost man in political life in the nation. He was at the pinnacle of his popularity. As a consequence Mr. Lincoln, a comparatively unknown man, began the campaign heavily handicapped. All the chances of success were against him. We are therefore all the more surprised at the advanced position he boldly took at the very outset.

On the evening of the day of his nomination, he made one of his most famous speeches. In its opening sentences he stated the issue on which the battle was to be fought and on which all succeeding republican campaigns prior to the rebellion were conducted. He stated it in words that have since become familiar to all Americans: "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved. I do not expect the house to fall, but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction; or, its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the states, old as well as new, north as well as south."

Mr. Lincoln had written this speech out in full with great care and had submitted it in advance to some of his advisers. They advised against what seemed to be so radical a position. Ordinarily most amenable to counsel, in this instance Mr. Lincoln was adamant. He had deliberated on the subject for years and this was his irreversible conclusion. He felt that this was the great message he had been commissioned to give to the American people, and against all advice he gave it as it was written to the convention and the nation. Some of his warmest adherents feared he had gone too far, and throughout the campaign Mr. Douglas attacked the position savagely. But Mr. Lincoln said: "If I had to

draw a pen across my record and erase my whole life from sight, and I had one poor gift or choice left as to what I would save from the wreck, I should choose that speech and leave it to the world unerased."

Mr. Douglas began his campaign July 9. He indulged in what were felt to be such gross misrepresentations of Mr. Lincoln's views that, on the advice of friends, Mr. Lincoln promptly challenged him to a joint discussion of their positions and all the issues of the campaign. He proposed that they travel the entire state together and divide the time in every meeting. Mr. Douglas did not welcome the challenge. After some delay, however, he consented to meet Mr. Lincoln, not every day for a hundred days, but seven times only, he choosing the places and insisting that in four of the debates he should open and close, leaving but three in which Mr. Lincoln should have the opening and closing speeches. Mr. Lincoln did not fail to call attention to this unfair advantage, but promptly accepted the arrangement. The places chosen for the joint meetings were Ottawa and Freeport in the north, Jonesboro in the extreme south, Charleston in the southeast, and Galesburg, Quincy and Alton in the west. Meantime both men would be speaking almost daily in other places.

The first encounter of the two protagonists took place at Ottawa, in the open air, on August 21, in the heat of summer. It was estimated that more than 16,000 people assembled. Mr. Douglas opened. He was a very able man, but his speech was worthy neither of the great occasion nor of his great fame. It covered five points, each one of them a grotesquely false accusation against Mr. Lincoln. I cannot stop to give them, but he affirmed that Mr. Lincoln when a young man "could ruin more liquor than all the other boys in town together," that he was trying to incite a sectional war between the North and South and that he was an abolitionist. On one charge he expended much time.

He said that the first black-republican state convention was held in Springfield in October, 1854, that Lincoln was a member of it, that it adopted a series of resolutions, which he read to the audience, that Lincoln was one of the makers of this abolition platform and he demanded of Mr. Lincoln whether he still stood pledged to those resolutions.

This last accusation, so positive and circumstantial in every detail, rather staggered Mr. Lincoln. He could not at the moment remember just what had occurred four years before, but, biding his time till he could get all his facts together, at the Galesburg debate, which I heard, he demolished the whole structure of this accusation so completely as to leave its author covered with confusion. He showed that no republican state convention had been held in Illinois till 1856, two years later than Mr. Douglas' date, that a convention of a sort had been held, but that he neither attended it nor had any connection with it, that the platform Douglas had read as the platform of that convention was not the one adopted by it, but an out and out forgery, being a series of resolutions passed by a meeting in the northern part of the state. It was an unanswerable exposure of a clumsy political forgery to which there could be no worthy answer save an apology. But Mr. Douglas did not know how to make an apology. The essence of the charge was that Mr. Lincoln was one of the responsible authors of the obnoxious resolutions. Mr. Douglas now complained that Mr. Lincoln made a great ado as to the spot where they were adopted.

Six days after the Ottawa debate came the Freeport meeting. Mr. Lincoln opened and one of the two outstanding points he made was on "the right and duty of Congress to prohibit slavery in all the United States territories." Slavery was a great moral wrong. Its extension was the one thing that threatened the life of the Union. Its further



extension must be prohibited. That was the great issue on which he made his campaign.

But it was another thing, though vitally related to this, that made the Freeport meeting the most famous of the series. It was there that Mr. Lincoln asked the question that drew from Mr. Douglas the reply which became known as "the Freeport doctrine," and which cost him the prize of his life ambition—the Presidency. The fateful question was this: "Can the people of a United States territory, in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits, prior to the formation of a state constitution?"

Mr. Lincoln's political counsellors strongly advised against asking the question. They urged that Mr. Douglas would answer, "Yes!" and seize the occasion to glorify his great doctrine of popular sovereignty, the rule of the common people, and that he would thus win the campaign and be returned to the Senate. Very well, Mr. Lincoln urged, but if he says "Yes!" he will lose the ultimate goal of his ambition, the Presidency. He, Mr. Lincoln, might lose his campaign for the Senatorship, but, he said, "I am after larger game: the battle of 1860 is worth a hundred of this."

He knew perfectly well how Mr. Douglas would answer. Incidentally he had already done so more than once in his side speeches between the debates. But these speeches had not been heard outside of Illinois. The South hadn't heard them.

Mr. Lincoln had become aware that he and his adversary were not, in this great debate, speaking to the few thousands within the sound of their voices, but to all the American people, east and west, north and south, and that Mr. Douglas' answer to his question would reach the ears of every southern planter. He saw that while Mr. Douglas was proclaiming the most loyal and zealous approval of the



Dred Scott decision, his answer would actually reduce that decision to a nullity and would mortally offend the South.

It turned out just as he expected. Without pausing for reflection Mr. Douglas answered on the spur of the moment. He could hardly wait for Mr. Lincoln to finish his speech. He fairly leaped into the trap. "Yes," he replied, "the people of a territory could exclude slavery by unfriendly legislation." This was the Freeport doctrine of "Unfriendly Legislation." It, of course, completely nullified the Dred Scott decision, which said they could not exclude it. Mr. Lincoln illustrated the absurdity of the position, when, in the Quincy debate he said, "The Dred Scott decision covers the whole ground, and while it occupies it, there is no room even for the shadow of a starved pigeon to occupy the same ground."

There can be no doubt that this practical repudiation of the Dred Scott decision, while professing loyalty to it, cost Mr. Douglas the Presidency. In the summer of 1860, Senator Judah P. Benjamin of Louisiana speaking in his place in the Senate, said of Mr. Douglas, "We accuse him of this, to wit, that having bargained with us upon a point upon which we were at issue, that it should be considered a judicial point; that he would abide the decision; that he would act under the decision and consider it a doctrine of the party; that having said that to us here in the Senate, he went home and, under the stress of a local election, his knees gave way; his whole person trembled. His adversary stood upon principle and was beaten: and lo! he is the candidate of the mighty party for the Presidency of the United States. The Senator from Illinois faltered. He got the prize for which he faltered, but lo! the grand prize of his ambition today slips from his grasp because of his faltering in his former contest, and his success in his canvass for the senate, purchased for an ignoble price, has cost him the loss of the Presidency of the United States."

It is little wonder that Mr. Lincoln on that great day at Freeport made this prophetic utterance: "That evil genius which has attended him through his life, giving him an apparent astonishing prosperity, such as to lead very many good men to doubt there being any advantage in virtue over vice, has at last made up its mind to forsake him."

The debate at Galesburg occurred October 7. This was the one I attended. I was a boy of sixteen, but Mr. Lincoln made an indelible impression on my mind and memory. Two things distinguished the Galesburg debate. It drew together a greater multitude than any other of these joint discussions, twenty thousand people, and Mr. Lincoln made the greatest speech delivered by him throughout the entire series. It was a raw October day with a cold north-east wind, yet the vast assemblage stood for three hours to listen to the speakers. The buildings of Knox College, then five in number, formed a quadrangle open on one side. The speakers' platform was built against the rear of the main building. Flanking this central structure, to the right and left were two class room buildings and from the rear of each of these extended a long, one story, students' dormitory. The audience, therefore, was gathered between these long, low dormitories. The students took possession of the roofs of these one story buildings, as the best vantage ground for seeing and hearing. I recall that I was about midway of one of these roofs, to the right of the speakers as I faced them and perhaps a hundred feet away.

I had never seen either of the two men before and I was struck at once with the extraordinary physical contrast between them. Mr. Douglas was five feet, four inches in height, but stockily built, weighing one hundred and forty pounds, with a bold, aggressive looking face. Mr. Lincoln was just a foot taller, six feet, four inches, not lanky, for he weighed a hundred and eighty pounds, but rangy and muscular, one of the strongest men of his day in Illinois. His

face was subdued in repose, thoughtful, pensive, but lighting up in a remarkable way, when in speaking he became intellectually aroused and spiritually exalted.

Mr. Douglas opened the debate, and great was the disappointment when it was found that he could not be heard. He had been speaking almost daily for three months and had used up his voice. He was so hoarse that I doubt if he was heard, so as to be understood, by a third of the audience. On the dormitory roof, we heard not a word. We saw a man with a leonine face apparently speaking with the greatest vehemence, but no sound reached us. But he spoke his full hour and as soon as he sat down, Mr. Lincoln rose and spoke an hour and a half. And then we had the second surprise of the day. As the voice of Mr. Douglas was worn to a frazzle we supposed Mr. Lincoln's would be also. He, too, had been speaking almost daily for a hundred days, often talking three hours and sometimes four. What then was our surprise and delight when his voice rang out over the great assembly clear as a bell. It was a high tenor with extraordinary carrying power. On the dormitory roof we heard every word distinctly as did the most distant listeners. Knowing that he had a sympathetic audience, he spoke with freedom and confidence and was followed, as he unfolded his argument, with delight and enthusiastic applause. I regret that I have not time to give an outline of the speeches. Mr. Lincoln elevated the tone of the debate when he enlarged on the moral wrong of slavery and declared that it was freedom that was national and slavery that was sectional.

The republicans were particularly jubilant over the Galesburg debate. The series ended at Alton eight days later. The reading of these debates leaves, I think, the following impression. Mr. Douglas began at Ottawa with an air of condescension toward his rival and Mr. Lincoln began with a certain deference for the great position occu-

pied by Mr. Douglas and his undoubted power as a debater. But before the end Mr. Douglas became irritated, petulant, and offensive and Mr. Lincoln grew more and more self-confident. He came to know that he was the better man. He had a great message of truth and justice and wise national policy and he spoke with constantly increasing fearlessness and freedom.

It was during this campaign that he uttered some of his most famous sayings. Speaking to the South, he said, "We do not wish to dissolve the Union, and you shall not." And again in a speech at Clinton,—“You can fool all of the people some of the time, and some of the people all the time, but you cannot fool all the people all the time.”

At that time it took 1000 republican votes to offset 754 democratic votes in Illinois, and though the republican state ticket was elected by about 4000 plurality and on the legislative ticket Mr. Lincoln won by 16,000 votes, Mr. Douglas was elected to the Senate by a small majority in the legislature. But the debates made Mr. Lincoln's reputation. When they ended he had become a national figure. The republicans brought out edition after edition of the great debate. In 1859 editions were printed as campaign documents in Ohio. Their immediate effect was to bring Mr. Lincoln into wide prominence and urgent requests began to come to him from many quarters for speeches. But the invitation that pleased him most was the one that led to the famous Cooper Institute speech in New York City at the end of February, 1860, which ended with that great word which will never lose its meaning: "Let us have faith that right makes might and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it."

In 1860 it was my good fortune to witness the next act in the drama of Mr. Lincoln's life. It brought me also into remote relation to one of the brighter phases of the career of Mr. Douglas. In 1856 he had conveyed to the first Uni-



versity of Chicago its site of ten acres on Cottage Grove Avenue south of Thirty-fourth Street. In 1859-60 I was a freshman in the University. Mr. Douglas was president of its board of trustees and so remained as long as he lived. Chicago was then a city of 100,000 people.

The year 1860 brought the country to its most important presidential election. Illinois determined to seek the nomination of Mr. Lincoln. The first step of the party leaders of the state was one of great subtlety and practical wisdom. They secured the selection of Chicago as the place for holding the national convention. The other candidates and their friends so underestimated the strength of Mr. Lincoln's candidacy, however, that had they known the plans of his friends it would perhaps have occasioned no opposition to Chicago as the convention city.

It was a very great event for a new and small city like Chicago. This was its first national convention for the nomination of a President. For the first time the republicans cherished the hope that they might elect their candidate. The city was greatly stirred. There being no hall large enough to accommodate the crowds that were expected, it was decided to build one. Lumber was cheap. Labor was cheap. Nothing was known of the high cost of living in 1860. Four thousand dollars was raised, and what became famous as the Wigwam was built. This was a two story, flat roofed, wooden structure and stood on the corner of Lake and Market Streets. It was 100 x 180 feet. In 1860 Chicago was engaged in lifting itself up out of the mud. At Lake and Market the streets and sidewalks had been raised ten feet, leaving a hole ten feet deep, 100 feet wide and 180 feet long above which the Wigwam stood. This depression was utilized in an ingenious way to diminish the cost of the building and at the same time adapt it more perfectly for its purpose. The entrances were on the level of the sidewalk on Market Street. Beginning at this level



a series of wide platforms was constructed, descending by successive steps to the enclosed space for the musicians in front of the stage. On these several platforms or landings the audience stood, (there were no seats) as on the steps of a stairway, the steps being, perhaps, eight feet broad and a hundred and eighty feet long. Along the eastern side, above the musicians' enclosure, was a wide stage, extending the whole length of the building, 180 feet, with committee rooms at either end. On this great stage were the seats for the delegates, 466 in number, and tables for the reporters. There was a wide gallery for ladies and their escorts, provided with seats. Any man coming with a woman was admitted without a ticket and women were known to ply a profitable business in taking in ticketless men. The night before the convention was to assemble, the Wigwam was dedicated. A great throng filled it, each paying twenty-five cents admission, the proceeds completing the fund for the cost of the building—\$6,000. It was elaborately decorated by the republican young men and women of the city.

When John C. Fremont was nominated for President in 1856 by the first republican national convention it was a forlorn hope. It was far different in 1860. The new party had become a mighty host. It had already won many victories. Its enemies were divided into warring factions. It was engaged in a holy war and it thrilled with the hope of a great national triumph. In the West, at least, enthusiasm ran high. The fame of the Wigwam spread far and wide and Chicago was fairly swamped with visitors. The hotels were inundated. Bathrooms were at a premium as bed rooms. The man who could get a billiard table to sleep on was fortunate. Estimates of the number of strangers in the city varied from 40,000 to 125,000.

A dozen candidates were put forward for the nomination. The most prominent among them and the one who was believed to have every prospect of securing the nomination

was Seward of New York. His interests were in the hands of a very able delegation, among them Wm. M. Evarts and George William Curtis.

The candidate of Illinois was Abraham Lincoln. When a few weeks before, the republican state convention at Decatur had named Mr. Lincoln as the choice of Illinois for President, John Hanks had brought into the convention hall a banner supported on two weather beaten rails and bearing this inscription,

Abraham Lincoln  
The rail candidate  
For President in 1860.  
Two rails from a lot of 3000  
made in 1830  
by John<sup>1</sup> Hanks and Abe Lincoln,  
whose father was  
the first pioneer of Macon County.

Thus Mr. Lincoln became the picturesque candidate before the national convention and the country, Lincoln the rail splitter.

The pressure to get into the Wigwam was tremendous. I was fortunate in having a very intelligent young woman friend much interested in the convention and through her I secured a daily seat in the gallery. I distinctly recall that I was in the southwest corner of the gallery while the balloting was going on. I remember when Wm. M. Evarts rose to place Mr. Seward in nomination, being much impressed with the almost reverent way in which he closed with the name, "William Henry Seward of New York." I recall my boyish dissatisfaction that a more notable man

<sup>1</sup>Actually, the banner erroneously read "Thos." Hanks.

than N. B. Judd was not put forward to place Mr. Lincoln in nomination. The Wigwam was jammed with all the people it could hold, but there was a much greater multitude outside who could not get in. These thousands waited in eager expectation for news of the proceedings which was announced to them from the roof of the Wigwam.

The result of the first ballot was awaited with breathless interest. It stood Fremont 1, Sumner 1, Reed 1, Wade 3, Collamer 10, McLean 12, Dayton 14, Bates 48, Chase 49, Cameron 50½, Lincoln 102, Seward 173½. This was not encouraging to Mr. Lincoln's friends, but it was regarded as only the preliminary skirmish, in which complimentary votes had to be given to favorite sons.

It was understood that the contending forces would really join battle in the second ballot, which might also foreshadow its further progress, whether it would be long drawn out or end in a speedy victory for one of the candidates. The friends of Mr. Seward fully expected his nomination on the second ballot. But the progress of the ballot disappointed them and every moment raised the hopes of the friends of Mr. Lincoln. When far down the list of states Pennsylvania was called and transferred her 44 votes from Cameron to Lincoln their enthusiasm knew no bounds. At the end of the second ballot it was found that while Seward had gained only 11 votes Lincoln had gained 79. The result was Seward 184½, Lincoln 181. Scattering 99½. It foreshadowed the end, though it by no means made it certain.

The suspense as the third ballot began was overwhelming. But the Lincoln figures grew fast. The result was not announced at the close of the roll call. It stood scattering 53½, Seward 180, Lincoln 231½. Mr. Lincoln lacked 1½ votes of a nomination. Before the vote could be announced Mr. Cartter of Ohio stood up on his chair and transferred four votes from Chase to Lincoln which gave

him a clear majority and the nomination. A reporter shouted the news to the waiting watcher on the roof and the announcement was made to the multitude that crowded the open space between the Wigwam and the river. "Then," in the words of the Chicago Tribune, "a deafening roar of stentorian applause arose from the immense multitude, such as had never been equalled on the American continent, nor since the day the walls of Jericho were blown down."

In the convention votes now began to be transferred to Lincoln from all the other candidates, including Seward, as fast as they could be recorded. "The Lincoln river became an inundation." When the confusion and enthusiasm finally subsided, the chairman announced that Abraham Lincoln had received 364 votes and "is selected as your candidate for President of the United States." Then Mr. Evarts on behalf of Mr. Seward and the New York delegates, though unable to conceal his disappointment, moved that the nomination be made unanimous, and this having been done and announced outside, according to John A. Andrew, later war governor of Massachusetts,—*"There arose a peal of human voices, a grand chorus of exultation, the like of which has not been heard on earth since the morning stars first sang together and the sons of God shouted for joy."* This was the natural expression of the enthusiasm of that day.

The campaign which followed Mr. Lincoln's nomination was red hot with it. All the rails he had ever split were sought out and bought and exhibited in every part of the North. It was the year of the Wide Awakes, companies of men in glazed caps and oil cloth capes, bearing aloft lighted kerosene torches. It was a campaign of torch light processions. Many a banner bore this inscription,

"Westward the star of empire takes its way,  
We link on to Lincoln, our fathers were for Clay."

The last line became one of the slogans of the campaign, "We link on to Lincoln, our fathers were for Clay," and it



had tremendous drawing power for old Henry Clay Whigs and their sons. Of course Mr. Lincoln was elected and we had a new world.

And what about his great rival, Mr. Douglas? He had been nominated for the Presidency by the northern democrats, and, representing only one wing of his party, had received, next to Mr. Lincoln, much the largest number of votes. When the new President reached Washington, Mr. Douglas was one of the first to assure him of loyal support in his efforts to save the Union. At the inauguration he stood beside Mr. Lincoln and held his hat while he took the oath of office, which was administered by Chief Justice Taney, the author of the Dred Scott decision.

The last days of Mr. Douglas greatly endeared him to the hearts of the American people. When Fort Sumter was fired on he rose, like the giant he was, to fight the battles of the Union. Putting himself unreservedly at Mr. Lincoln's disposal the President sent him to Illinois to use his great influence in solidifying the loyal forces of the state. Within ten days he was in Springfield and made an address before the legislature, which was a trumpet call to the defense of the Union. Horace White, of the Chicago Tribune said of it, "I was one of the listeners to that speech, and I cannot conceive that Demosthenes, or Mirabeau, or Patrick Henry, or any orator of ancient or modern times could have surpassed it. . . . If the roof of the building had been carried away by the tempest that was issuing from the little giant none of his listeners would have been surprised. Douglas had only a few more days to live. He was now forty-eight years of age, but if he had lived forty-eight years longer he never could have surpassed that eloquence or exceeded that service to his country, for he never could have found another like occasion to call out his astounding powers."



That great speech made Illinois solid for the Union. The vast following of Mr. Douglas rallied loyally to their country's cause. From Springfield he went to Chicago where he spoke in the Wigwam, crowded to the doors. In the appeal he made to the patriotism of the people, he said, "The question is, Are we to maintain the country of our fathers, or allow it to be stricken down by those who, when they can no longer govern, threaten to destroy? . . . There are to be no neutrals in this war, only patriots and traitors. . . . The shortest way to peace is the most stupendous and unanimous preparation for war."

Stephen A. Douglas was never so great, never rose to such heights of moral grandeur, never did such inestimable service to his country as during this last month of his life. But the strain on his physical and nervous energies had been too great. Only a few days after his impassioned appeal in the Wigwam, on the third of June, 1861, he died. He was buried on the lake shore, just north of 35th Street, a little more than one block east of the University he had helped to found and of whose board of trustees he had been president from the beginning.

The students of the University had organized a military company of which I was orderly sergeant. It appropriately fell to our company to be the guard of honor at the funeral. I recall the day perfectly after nearly sixty years and that, as orderly of the company, my station was at the entrance of the grounds on 35th Street near the lake shore. Through this entrance, which was directly south of where the monument now stands, the funeral procession passed. The new University of Chicago has appropriately placed a bronze effigy of Mr. Douglas on one of the walls of the tower group of buildings.

As in the case of Mr. Douglas I was once more brought near to Mr. Lincoln in his death. The first weeks of April, 1865, I passed in a vain attempt to get mustered into the

army in Rochester, N. Y. where I had gone in response to the last draft of the War. I was too late. The mustering-in officer put me off from day to day till Lee surrendered and then told me to go about my business. My business was in Chicago where I was student pastor of a church on the North side. I started back on April 14, 1865. The date is fixed by my experience en route. Very late at night, while we were passing through Ohio, alarming rumors began to spread through the train. About one o'clock in the morning I got out at a small station to make inquiries and then learned definitely of the assassination of President Lincoln. Never was a country so horrified and grief stricken. Our only comfort was that our martyred President had lived to abolish slavery, to overthrow the rebellion and to save the Union. A few days later, with thousands of others I passed the casket in which he lay in state in the City Hall in Chicago and looked for the last time on that kindly, beloved face. As Mr. Stanton said after seeing him draw his last breath,—“Now he belongs to the ages.”

# THE FIRST PRINTERS OF ILLINOIS

*By*

*DOUGLAS C. McMURTRIE*

Illinois was first developed under French influence, and its first permanent settlements were made about the same time the beginnings were made near the mouth of the Mississippi. There was a sort of dual growth in the Illinois country with two points of emphasis at opposite corners of the state: Chicago in the northeast on Lake Michigan was one of these centers of population, and Kaskaskia in the southwest on the Mississippi was the other. It was the Kaskaskia region which was developed first, while the Chicago area was to fade into temporary oblivion, to be revived in the thirties when the first waves of immigration were to be felt in the Great Lakes region. To the south, LaSalle established Fort St. Louis on the Illinois River in 1682. Cahokia was the seat of a mission in 1699, and a rival mission was established at nearby Kaskaskia in 1700. Fort Chartres and Prairie du Rocher, also in the southwestern part of the future state, date from 1720 and 1733.

Although the settlement of Illinois was a result of French expansion in the St. Lawrence region, the Illinois country was to become more and more closely associated with Louisiana. The Fox Indians to the north made intercourse with Canada difficult, but the Mississippi offered an easy highway to Louisiana in the south. As a result, in 1717 Illinois was officially decreed a part of the territory controlled by Louisiana.

The battle of the Plains of Abraham at Quebec in 1759 marked the end of French dominance in America, and by

the Treaty of Paris in 1763 the Illinois country passed under the control of England, which was shortly to lose it in the Revolution. George Rogers Clark's expedition against Kaskaskia in 1778 brought about the acquisition of Illinois and all the surrounding territory for the United States.

Virginia extended temporary jurisdiction over the territory until it was officially ceded to the United States by England in the treaty of 1783. The Northwest Territory was then created, and in 1800 Indiana Territory, including the present states of Indiana and Illinois, was created, with its capital at Vincennes. Beginning in 1806 there was a strong movement for the organization of Illinois as a separate territory, culminating successfully in 1809.

Illinois was then at the beginning of its great era of expansion, and by 1818, the year statehood was attained, the population had grown to 40,000. The great westward migration of the twenties and thirties was on, and all the territory of the Ohio Valley was developing by leaps and bounds. Down the Ohio and through Kentucky came the future inhabitants of Illinois and the neighboring states.

At first the population was centered about the old French settlements near Kaskaskia, but gradually there was a northward movement. In 1820 Vandalia became the capital, and in 1839 it was followed by Springfield. Chicago was to remain an unimportant village until after the southern and central portions of the state were well settled.

The establishment of Illinois as a separate territory in 1809 was the chief factor in the introduction of the press five years later. Official documents had to be printed, and after an attempt was made at having this work done outside the borders of Illinois, a printer was encouraged to come to Kaskaskia on the Mississippi River, below St. Louis. As was the case in all the other states bordering Kentucky on the north and west, Illinois drew its first printer from the blue grass state.



This first printer was Matthew Duncan, of Russellville, Kentucky, whose younger brother, Joseph Duncan, was later to be governor of Illinois. Matthew Duncan was born in Kentucky and educated at Yale. After his graduation he returned to Kentucky<sup>1</sup> and in December, 1808, established a paper, the Russellville *Farmer's Friend*. No copies of this paper are known after the end of 1810, but it seems likely that Duncan continued to publish it through 1813 at least, for in that year he published in Russellville the first laws of Illinois.

Ninian Edwards, first territorial governor of Illinois, had been a lawyer at Russellville, Kentucky, and was a friend of Matthew Duncan. Because of this friendship the first official printing for the newly created territory of Illinois was sent to the obscure little town of Russellville in southern Kentucky to be done by Duncan. He printed there in 1813 the *Laws Passed by the Legislative Council & House of Representatives, of the Illinois Territory, At their First Session held at Kaskaskia, in 1812*. The imprint on the volume read: "Printed by Authority from the Governor, by Matthew Duncan, Russellville, Ky. 1813."

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<sup>1</sup>According to Scott, p. 211, note, Duncan became editor of the Russellville *Mirror*, a paper established in 1806 by John Adams and William Mitchell, before starting his own paper in 1808. Scott cites Julia Duncan Kirby, *Joseph Duncan*, Fergus Hist. Ser. no. 21, Chicago, 1888; and Thwaites' *Ohio Valley Press*. Brigham does not believe Duncan was ever connected with the *Mirror*, and he wrote me in this connection on August 4, 1931: "I think there is not much possibility that Matthew Duncan was ever connected with the *Russellville Mirror*, 1806-08, before establishing his own paper, the *Farmer's Friend*. Almost complete files of the *Mirror* are known, from its establishment on Nov. 1, 1806, through the year 1808; the names of the publishers and printers are explicitly given in my Bibliography and there is no mention of Matthew Duncan. Thwaites, one of the authorities given by Scott, mentioned only Duncan's connection with the *Farmer's Friend*, and didn't even refer to the *Mirror*. The truth is, so many writers base their statements on either tradition or conjecture, without having seen the papers themselves. Miss Kirby, for instance, knew that Duncan established the *Farmer's Friend*, also that there was a previous paper called the *Mirror*, and may have assumed Duncan's proprietorship, not having seen original copies of the paper, of which the only files are at Harvard and this Library (American Antiquarian Society)."



**L A W S**  
OF THE  
**TERRITORY**  
OF  
**ILLINOIS,**  
*REVISED AND DIGESTED*  
UNDER THE  
AUTHORITY  
OF THE  
LEGISLATURE,

++++  
*BY NATHANIEL POPE.*  
++++

VOLUME 1.

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**KASKASKIA:**

PRINTED BY  
**MATTHEW DUNCAN**

PRINTER TO THE  
*Territory.*

June, 2nd, 1815.

Having established himself as the first official Illinois printer before coming to the territory, Duncan moved to Kaskaskia, then the capital, and established the *Illinois Herald* there some time in the spring of 1814.<sup>2</sup> This was the first newspaper issued and the first printing done in Illinois. In December, 1814, Duncan issued the first pamphlet printed in Illinois, a 24-page message of Governor Edwards to the legislature on the delayed negotiations for peace with Great Britain, and in June, 1815, he followed this with a book of some size, volume one of *Pope's Digest*.<sup>3</sup> He disposed of his printing office some time during the winter of 1815-1816 and entered the army, seeing active service in the Black Hawk War. In 1832 he became a captain of Rangers, and the next year he was captain of the First Dragoons. He resigned from the army and went into business at Shelbyville, where he died in 1844.

Duncan sold his press to Daniel P. Cook & Co., who established the Kaskaskia *Western Intelligencer* in April, 1816. Robert Blackwell was shortly admitted to partnership.<sup>4</sup> In September, 1817, Elijah Conway Berry became co-publisher with Cook, and a month later Berry and Blackwell were the publishers. Berry was a Kentuckian who began his printing career on the Louisville *Farmer's Library* in 1803, the first and at that time the only paper in Louisville. Early in 1804 he took over the Frankfort *Guardian of Freedom* from James M. Bradford, who was leaving Kentucky for New Orleans. The *Guardian of Freedom* is

<sup>2</sup>In early issues of the *Illinois Herald* Duncan's name appeared as *Mathezw* Duncan. It was *Matthezw* Duncan generally.

<sup>3</sup>Scott, p. 211, note 2.

<sup>4</sup>William Nelson, *Notes Toward a History of the American Newspaper*, New York, 1918, v. 1, p. 100, says that in 1816 the *Illinois Herald* became the *Illinois Intelligencer*. He does not mention the *Western Intelligencer*. Nelson also says that in 1816 Daniel Pope was the editor and joint owner with Robert Blackwell. Pope, he says, was a native of Kentucky who emigrated to Illinois in 1815 and was succeeded on the staff of the *Intelligencer* in 1819 by Elijah C. Berry. Brigham, and Scott, mention no Daniel Pope. Evidently Nelson wrote "Daniel Pope" in error for "Daniel Pope Cook."

# LAWS

PASSED

BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

OF

ILLINOIS TERRITORY,

*AT THEIR SIXTH SESSION,*

HELD AT KASKASKIA—1817—'18.

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*KASKASKIA, I. T.*

BERRY AND BLACKWELL—PRINTERS TO THE TERRITORY.

  
1818.

not known to have continued beyond 1805, and Berry is next heard of in connection with William Gerard, with whom he published the Frankfort *Argus of Western America* from 1813 to 1816. Gerard and Berry were official printers for the state of Kentucky during that period. In 1817 Berry purchased the *Louisville Correspondent*, which he continued to publish for only a few months before leaving for Illinois, where he again became public printer. Illinois became a state in 1818, and that same year "Blackwell & Berry—Printers to the State," published *The Constitution of the State of Illinois* at Kaskaskia.

In May, 1818, Berry and his partner Robert Blackwell changed the name of the Kaskaskia *Western Intelligencer* to *Illinois Intelligencer*. They continued to publish it at Kaskaskia until the fall of 1820, when the paper was moved to Vandalia, the new capital in the south central part of the state. At this time Elijah C. Berry was replaced by his brother William C. Berry, likewise a Kentucky printer. In 1810 he had been co-publisher of the Washington *Dove*, and in 1816 he was one of the publishers of the Maysville *Eagle*.<sup>5</sup>

The *Illinois Intelligencer*, a direct descendant of the first paper in the state, was also the first paper printed at Vandalia. Blackwell and Berry published the initial number at Vandalia on December 14, 1820, and December 23, 1820, William H. Brown replaced Blackwell. In 1823 Brown retired and Blackwell again became a member of the firm. Berry left the paper in 1824, and it was continued by Blackwell and various others until 1832.

The accounts regarding the establishment of a press at Shawneetown, in the southeastern part of the territory, the second printing point in Illinois, are exceedingly conflicting. The commonly accepted statement is that Henry

<sup>5</sup>The careers of both Elijah Conway Berry and William C. Berry are traced by Douglas C. McMurtrie in *Early Printing in Kentucky*.

Eddy, a young lawyer, and Allen W. Kimmel, a printer, left Pittsburgh in the late summer of 1818, carrying printing equipment with them, and intending to establish a newspaper somewhere in the Western Country, probably at St. Louis. It is further related that the flatboat on which their plant was carried, hit a sandbar off Shawneetown, and that this incident was responsible for their decision to locate at that place.

From letters preserved in the State Department, it is clear that Peter Kimmel, then in Pittsburgh, had projected the establishment of a newspaper in Illinois, with the object of securing the regular publication in its columns, at government expense, of the laws of the United States. He enlisted the aid of Nathaniel Pope, territorial delegate in Congress, in this effort, and early in 1817, John Quincy Adams wrote that official authorization for printing the laws would be sent to Kimmel.

Apparently there was delay in getting the project under way, for in December, 1817, Peter Kimmel advised Pope that he had now decided to set up a printing establishment at Kaskaskia and again asked his influence to secure for him the publishing of the United States laws. The authorization was, apparently, renewed before Eddy and one or both of the sons of Peter Kimmel left Pittsburgh. Probably their intended destination was Kaskaskia instead of St. Louis, as they were obviously planning to publish in Illinois.

Allen W. Kimmel<sup>6</sup> was Eddy's partner in establishing the

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<sup>6</sup>No less than three versions of Kimmel's name appear in different accounts of this paper. Brigham's statement that the name was Allen W. Kimmel is undoubtedly correct. Scott in his regular account of the Shawneetown paper, p. 314, speaks of Singleton H. Kimmel as co-publisher with Eddy. Scott in his introduction, p. xlii, refers only to A. W. Kimmel. Miller, p. 149, says Peter Kimmel began the paper with Eddy. He also mentions Kimmel's sons, without naming them, and it is probably that here the real solution lies. Undoubtedly the first names of the father and his sons have become mixed. Snively does not mention Kimmel. Mr. Brigham in a letter to me under date of July 25, 1931, says, "The joint publisher of the Shawneetown newspaper was A. W. Kimmel. I have found that his first name was Allen."

Mr. Paul M. Angle has kindly sent me notes of letters in the State Department at



Shawneetown *Illinois Emigrant* in June, 1818, as Brigham learned from a document dissolving the partnership comparatively soon after it had begun.<sup>7</sup> It is quite possible, as Mr. Brigham points out, that Peter Kimmel was a silent partner, and merely instrumental in obtaining for his son a favorable business opportunity.

The point of the Kimmel effort, as Buck<sup>8</sup> has pointed out, was that "under a United States law of November 21, 1814, the Secretary of State was authorized to cause the laws of the United States, passed, or to be passed, during the present or any future session of Congress, to be published in two of the public newspapers within each and every territory of the United States; *Provided*, In his opinion, it shall become necessary and expedient." As there was but a single newspaper then being published in Illinois, it was evident that a distinct commercial opportunity was being overlooked.

The *Illinois Emigrant* was continued until September, 1819, although publication was suspended for two months during the summer of 1819 for lack of paper, and then its name was changed to *Illinois Gazette*.<sup>9</sup> Eddy & Kimmel were the publishers until the spring of 1820, when Kimmel sold his interest to James Hall.

Although Matthew Duncan, the first Illinois printer, was a graduate of Yale, it was not until Hall's day that a dis-

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Washington passing between Peter Kimmel, Nathaniel Pope, and J. Q. Adams. By these it is evident that it was Peter Kimmel who took the initiative in securing for the projected Illinois newspaper authority to print the laws of the United States. However, as Mr. Brigham writes me under date of July 25, 1933: "It is possible that Peter Kimmel was the silent partner in putting his son into business." This seems the most plausible solution to this tangle of names.

<sup>7</sup>Brigham says the paper was established June 13, 1818, to judge from the date of the first issue located, October 18, 1818, v. 1, no. 19. Miller, p. 149, says the expedition did not leave Pittsburgh until late in the summer of 1818, and Snively, p. 206, says Eddy left Pittsburgh in July or August, 1818, making no mention of Kimmel.

<sup>8</sup>Buck, p. 171-73.

<sup>9</sup>It has been repeatedly and incorrectly stated that Eddy and Kimmel began their paper under the name of the *Shawnee Chief*. (Scott, p. 314; Brigham, p. 396.)

tinctly literary atmosphere became associated with the press of the young state. During the two years of his editorship of the *Illinois Gazette* at Shawneetown the paper took on a very unusual literary tone. Hall was replaced by C. Jones on the *Gazette* in 1822, and in 1830 Hall was at Vandalia editing the *Illinois Monthly Magazine*, first literary periodical to be published in the state. During only the first year of its life was it published in Illinois;<sup>10</sup> the next year it was published at St. Louis by Charles Keemle, and thereafter it was printed at Cincinnati. Hall went to Cincinnati in 1833 and continued to publish his magazine there as the *Western Monthly Magazine, a Continuation of the Illinois Monthly Magazine* until the end of 1835. In 1840 he is said to have been one of the editors of the *Sucker*, a campaign paper published at Alton in the interests of Harrison and the Whig party.<sup>11</sup>

After Hall left the *Illinois Gazette* late in 1822, it was continued by Eddy and others until about 1830. The next Shawneetown paper was the *Gallatin Democrat and Illinois Advertiser*, which had a brief existence in the fall of 1835 under the guidance of John A. McClernand and William H. Stickney. It was succeeded by the Shawneetown *Illinois Advertiser*, established by Stickney and John S. McCracken, which ran from the beginning of 1836 to the end of 1837. It later became the *Western Voice and Internal Improvement Journal*, and finally the *Intelligencer*, all published at the same village.

Edwardsville was the third printing town in Illinois. The *Edwardsville Spectator* was established in the spring of 1819 by Hooper Warren, assisted by George Churchill, and was continued by them until 1825.

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<sup>10</sup>Printed by Robert Blackwell, public printer, at the office of the Vandalia *Illinois Intelligencer*.

<sup>11</sup>The Alton *Sucker* was published by Parks and Beatty and edited by "Ourselves," believed to have been William S. and John Lincoln, and James Hall. It was merged with the Alton *Telegraph* in March, 1840. (Scott, p. 6.)

# POEMS

BY

WILLIAM LEGGETT.



'Tis pleasant, sure, to see one's name in print;  
A book's a book, although there's nothing in't.  
*Lord Byron.*



EDWARDSVILLE:

PRINTED BY AND FOR THE AUTHOR.

1822.  
M

Warren was among the most peripatetic of Illinois printers; he is known to have been active in six towns within the state. From 1827 to 1829 he edited the *Sangamo Spectator*, the first paper established at the future capital, Springfield. It was owned by Governor Ninian Edwards, whose interest in the press had brought Matthew Duncan from Kentucky. Through Governor Edwards' backing Warren established his next paper, the *Galena Advertiser*, published from the summer of 1829 to the summer of 1830. Hooper Warren founded the third newspaper in Chicago, the *Commercial Advertiser*, which he edited from 1836 to 1837.<sup>12</sup>

His next known venture was the publication of the *Genius of Liberty* in collaboration with Zebina Eastman late in 1840, continuing it until the spring of 1842. The *Genius* was known as the first abolition paper in America, and Warren came to it easily, for his Edwardsville *Spectator* had been "the first distinctly anti-slavery paper ever published in the State,"<sup>13</sup> and his Chicago *Commercial Advertiser* had also been strongly in favor of abolition. The Lowell *Genius of Liberty* was revived in Chicago in the summer

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<sup>12</sup>The *Commercial Advertiser* was a rabid "liberty" paper. In 1837, when it was discontinued, the printing office was taken to Lowell, in the north central part of the state. There Benjamin Lundy and Zebina Eastman issued the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, carrying the name of the nearby town of Hennepin as its place of publication. The first number printed in Illinois appeared November 8, 1838, and was listed as vol. 16, no. 1. It carried an account of the paper's previous history: "It was commenced in 1821; issued a few months in Ohio; nearly three years in Tennessee; eight years in Maryland and the District of Columbia; and the residue of the period stated it has been published irregularly in the city of Philadelphia. Its principal design has ever been and will continue to be the advocacy of *Free Discussion*; the TOTAL ABOLITION OF SLAVERY: and the firm establishment of the constitutional, inalienable, and 'universal' Rights of Man." The *Genius* is said to have been the first abolition paper in America. (Scott, pp. 197-198.)

It seems only likely that Hooper Warren was associated with the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* during its period of publication from November, 1838, to September, 1839. It was his printing office which first established the paper. And he was co-editor and co-publisher of its later emanation, the Lowell *Genius of Liberty*.

<sup>13</sup>Quoted from Washburn, *Edwards Papers*, 329 n., by Scott, p. 166.



of 1842 as the *Western Citizen*, but Hooper Warren's name did not appear in connection with it until 1852 and 1853. Meanwhile, for a short time in 1851, he had edited the *Post* at Princeton, not far from Lowell. The Chicago *Western Citizen* became the Chicago *Free West* at the end of 1853, with Hooper Warren, Zebina Eastman, and E. Goodman as editors. They continued to publish it until 1855, when it was combined with the Chicago *Tribune*. After that time nothing more is known of the varied essays made by Hooper Warren into the editorial or typographic field in Illinois.

The *Edwardsville Spectator* was not suspended when Warren and Churchill left it in 1825. Thomas Lippincott and Jeremiah Abbott continued to publish it for a year, finally suspending it in the fall of 1826. Lippincott was probably the Reverend Thomas Lippincott who later became an editor of religious magazines published at Alton.<sup>14</sup> Edwardsville's second paper was the *Star of the West* established by Miller<sup>15</sup> and Stine in the fall of 1822 and continued for six months. It then passed into the hands of Thomas J. McGuire, who changed the name to the *Illinois Republican*, issuing it with Theophilus W. Smith and Emanuel J. West as editors until the summer of 1824.

Edwardsville seems to have been a training ground for wandering Illinois printers. Its next newspaper, the *Illinois Corrector*, was established in 1827 and published during the single year of its life by one of these men, Robert K. Fleming. Fleming had previously published the *Re-*

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<sup>14</sup>Reverend Thomas Lippincott edited the *American*, a religious monthly published at Alton in 1833 and 1834. It was the second publication there and was printed by Mailey and Parks. In 1840 Lippincott edited the *Taper*, also a religious monthly published at Alton. (Scott, p. 3, 5.)

<sup>15</sup>Snively, p. 206, says Miller was a Pennsylvania printer who came to Illinois with his press and his son looking for a favorable location to begin a paper. When he reached Edwardsville, inducements were offered him to remain there.



*publican Advocate*, second newspaper in Kaskaskia,<sup>16</sup> from the time of its establishment in the early spring of 1823 until its demise a year later. In August, 1829, he returned to Kaskaskia and established the *Western Democrat*, edited for him by Sidney Breese. In 1830 this became the *Kaskaskia Democrat*, which was discontinued at the beginning of 1832. Later that year Fleming made another and abortive attempt at publishing in Kaskaskia with the *Randolph Free Press*. He next went to Belleville, between Kaskaskia and Edwardsville where he had previously been active, publishing the *Belleville St. Clair Gazette*, part of the time known as the *St. Clair Mercury*, from 1833 to 1838. In 1843 he was printer for the *Belleville Farmers and Mechanical Repository*, and in the middle forties he published the *Belleville Advocate*, a paper that is continued today.<sup>17</sup> By 1853 Fleming was in Nashville, Illinois, a short distance south and east of Belleville. He established the *Nashville Monitor* but was soon superseded in its management. After 1853 nothing further is known of him.

Vandalia became the fourth printing town in 1820 when the *Illinois Intelligencer* was removed there from Kaskaskia by the Berrys and William H. Brown. The second<sup>18</sup> publication there was the *Illinois Monthly Magazine* established in 1830 by the literary James Hall and printed during its single year in Vandalia by Robert Blackwell, publisher of the *Illinois Intelligencer* and state public printer.

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<sup>16</sup>The Kaskaskia *Illinois Herald*, *Western Intelligencer*, and *Illinois Intelligencer* may be considered as the same paper with changes of name. After the *Republican Advocate* was suspended in March, 1824, Fleming moved his printing office to Vandalia, but failing to receive sufficient encouragement there he went to Edwardsville and began the *Illinois Corrector*. (Snively, p. 206.)

<sup>17</sup>Robert K. Fleming was succeeded on the *Belleville Advocate* by E. H. Fleming, and he in turn by William K. Fleming. Probably E. H. and William K. were Richard K. Fleming's sons or were otherwise related to him.

<sup>18</sup>Scott, p. 340, mentions a paper called the *Vandalia Intelligencer* said to have been established by a political group headed by Governor Coles and Daniel P. Cook. David Blackwell, secretary of state, was supposed to have been the editor. Scott says "There is no evidence to show that such a paper ever existed."

## THE FIRST PRINTERS OF ILLINOIS

In 1831 S. C. Sherman established the *Illinois Whig*, Vandalia's second paper, which in 1832 was combined with the pioneer paper as the *Vandalia Whig and Illinois Intelligencer*. It was continued until 1834.<sup>19</sup>

Belleville in 1826 became the fifth printing town with the establishment of the *Western News* by Dr. Joseph Green. It was continued only a year, and the town was without a news press until 1833, when the itinerant Robert K. Fleming established his *St. Clair Gazette*, also known as the *St. Clair Mercury*. In 1837 Edward S. Cropley began the *Representative and Belleville News*, with which Fleming's paper was merged late in the next year as the *Representative and Gazette*. It failed, and from it came the Belleville *Advocate*, established in 1839 by James L. Boyd and John T. C. Clark, and continued until the present day.

The next printing in Illinois was done at Galena, in Jo Daviess County, at the northwest corner of the state in the mining region. The paper established there in 1826 by James Jones reflected the nature of the local industry and was known as the *Miner's Journal*. Thomas Ford, later Governor of Illinois, was editor in 1829. The paper was sold in 1832 to Dr. Addison Philleo. He established the *Galenian* in 1832, which was published by him and later by George N. Palmer until 1836. They then joined forces and edited the paper from 1836 until 1838 as the *Democrat*. Hooper Warren reached Galena in the summer of 1829 and founded the *Advertiser*, with the financial support of Governor Ninian Edwards. Warren, Horatio Newhall, and Dr. Philleo were the editors, and Newhall and Philleo published it, possibly from the office of the *Miner's Journal*. The *Advertiser* was suspended after a year. In 1834

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<sup>19</sup>Another early paper listed by Scott, p. 341, is the *Vandalia Gazette*, concerning which there is no information beyond the fact that it is said to have appeared in 1831.

the *Northwestern Gazette and Galena Advertiser*, a long-lived paper, was begun in opposition to Dr. Philleo's publication. Galena was an outpost of the printing press, far separated from the other printing towns of Illinois, which were chiefly located in the southern and western section of the state.

Hooper Warren came to Springfield, later the state capital, after his work on the *Edwardsville Spectator* to establish early in 1827 the first Springfield paper, the *Sangamo Spectator*. Governor Ninian Edwards owned the paper and Warren was the editor. It was published by them from 1827 to 1829, when Samuel C. Meredith bought it and changed it to the *Journal and Little Sangamo Gazette*, which lasted only a short time. In 1829 and 1830 George Forquer and Thomas Ford, later governor, edited the *Springfield Courier*.<sup>20</sup> In the fall of 1831 the *Sangamon Journal*, predecessor of the present day *Illinois State Journal*, was established by Simeon and Josiah Francis. They with other members of their family published it until 1855.

On November 1st, 1840, there began publication of *The Morning Courier*, a daily newspaper previously unrecorded and courteously called to my attention by Mr. Paul M. Angle of the Illinois State Historical Library. In this library is a file of Volume I of this daily newspaper, numbers 2 to 98 inclusive, the first number in the file being dated November 2nd, 1840, and the last number being dated February 27, 1841. According to its masthead it was "devoted to science, entertainment, literature, morals, agriculture and the general diffusion of useful intelligence."

Through number 8 the paper was published by George Mortimer Shipper & Co., and numbers 9 to 98 were pub-

<sup>20</sup>This paper is listed by Scott as having been published in 1830, but with no information beyond the names of the editors. No copies have been located. That it began as early as 1829 and ran into 1830 is attested by a number of references to it in other newspapers. The *Courier* is quoted in the *Galena Advertiser* of Dec. 28, 1829, of Feb. 1, 1830, and April 20, 1830.

lished by Ballard & Hatch, and bore the name of William T. Hatch as editor.

Rock Spring, in the Alton region, entered the printing lists in 1829 with the establishment of the *Pioneer of the Valley of the Mississippi*, a Baptist publication which in 1831 became the *Pioneer and Western Baptist*. John Mason Peck was the editor and T. P. Green the publisher at first. Ashford Smith replaced Green in 1830. The paper was moved to Alton in 1836 as the *Western Pioneer and Baptist Standard Bearer*, continuing under the editorship of Peck.

The ninth town in Illinois to have a printing press was Jacksonville, where the *Western Observer* was begun in May, 1830, by James G. Edwards, later the founder of the second paper at Burlington, Iowa.<sup>21</sup> Edwards with Charles Jones established the Jacksonville *Illinois Patriot* late in 1831, and in 1832 Jones alone published the *Jacksonville Banner and Morgan County Advertiser*.<sup>22</sup>

Alton was the last town in the state to have a press by 1832. O. M. Adams and Edward Breath established the *Spectator* at Upper Alton, a few miles up the river from Alton proper, in 1832. The next year the *American*, a monthly publication was established by J. S. Buchanan. Bailey and Parks published it, and the Reverend Thomas Lippincott, formerly of the *Edwardsville Spectator*, was the editor. In 1840 he also edited the *Alton Taper*.

<sup>21</sup>June 6, 1839, Edwards established at Burlington the *Iowa Patriot*, which in September of that year became the *Hawk-Eye and Iowa Patriot*. In June, 1843, this in turn became the *Burlington Hawk-Eye*. Edwards was publisher of this paper most of the time from 1839 until about 1875. (David C. Mott, "Early Iowa Newspapers," *Annals of Iowa*, v. 16, Jan. 1928, p. 176.) Scott, p. 203, fails to note the earlier names of the *Hawk-Eye*.

<sup>22</sup>Proposals for publishing a paper at Palestine to be known as the *Illinois Chronicle and Literary Gazette* appeared in the *Edwardsville Crisis* for September 9, 1830. E. S. Janney was to be the editor, and Caddington, Beck, and Janney were to be publishers. Nothing further is known of this plan to introduce printing to Palestine, and the first paper known to have been issued from there is the *Ruralist*, published during 1856 and 1857. (Scott, p. 272.)



Alton was chiefly famous as the home of the *Observer*, an ardent anti-slavery paper published there by Elijah P. Lovejoy, abolitionist martyr, in 1836 and 1837. It was brought from St. Louis in September, 1836, by Lovejoy to avoid the pro-slavery agitation in Missouri. Most of the office was destroyed before it could be taken to Alton, and on arriving there, the balance met a similar fate. The history of Lovejoy and the *Observer* was merely a repetition of such incidents. In August, 1837, Lovejoy's replenished office was destroyed, and the press and types were thrown into the river. Another press was ordered from Cincinnati. It reached Alton November 6, 1837, and the next night Lovejoy was killed by an anti-abolitionist mob. The press was broken up and thrown into the Mississippi.<sup>23</sup> During the spring of 1838 an attempt was made to have the *Observer* printed at Cincinnati for distribution in Alton, but this was found impracticable, and the venture was abandoned. Alton was the tenth town in the state to have a press,<sup>24</sup> and the pioneer period was well over for Illinois as a state by 1832. In 1833, as is well known, printing began at Chicago, the present metropolis.

<sup>23</sup>Scott, p. 5, quotes Harris' *Negro Servitude in Illinois*, p. 914, note: "The battered press lay in the river till 1858, when W. R. Mead bought the 'find' for \$35, and removed it to Iowa. From 1858 to 1870 it was used to print the *Cresco Plain Dealer*, at New Oregon, Howard County, Iowa. Then George E. Frost bought it for \$100 and printed the *Clear Lake Observer* on it till about 1876, when it was again sold to F. A. Gates, editor of the *Belmont Herald*. For about twenty years it remained in service at Belmont, Iowa, and was then sold to Mr. C. F. Gunther, of Chicago, who exhibited it in 'Libby Prison.'"

Mott. *op. cit.*, p. 185, says the *Cresco Plain Dealer* of New Oregon was founded in 1859 as the *New Oregon Plain Dealer* by Henry Lick and W. R. Mead, who acted as editor. In 1867 the paper was moved to Cresco and became the *Cresco Plain Dealer*.

<sup>24</sup>Ninth, if the doubtful printing at Palestine in 1830 is omitted.



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Scott's book, a revision of the work begun by James and Lorelse, is the standard source for all Illinois newspaper press history. It is in outline form, with notes and with eighty pages of valuable historical introduction. Miller and Nichols both present interesting surveys of the early period, as does Snively, although with fewer details and less accuracy. Miss Stringfield's article concerns a later Shawneetown printer, and not Matthew Duncan as the title suggests. Brigham, with his high degree of accuracy, is indispensable for the history of Illinois newspapers through 1820.

# THE POLITICAL CAREER OF WILLIAM A. RICHARDSON\*

By

ROBERT D. HOLT

## PREFACE

The purpose of this study is to take note of the more significant phases in the political career of one who lived and served prior to and during the Civil War. It is hoped that the study will contribute to the general knowledge concerning that era of history, and likewise offer a more intimate acquaintance with some of the other political characters of that period. The emphasis has been placed primarily on the man himself, and not on the problems or activities of the age. What the author has desired was to see how the man adapted himself to the needs of his time, and to analyze the character of the service he gave.

For appropriate material much reliance has been placed on the newspapers, the *Quincy Herald* in particular, that were published in the home city of Mr. Richardson. Access to these was given by Mr. C. F. Eichenauer, Editor of the *Quincy Herald-Whig*, to whom the author is very grateful. Of considerable help has been the collection of papers and the scrapbook of Wm. A. Richardson, Jr. For the use of these the author is indebted to Mr. Robert McFadon of Mount Holly, Virginia, and the State Savings Loan and Trust Company of Quincy, Illinois. Valuable suggestions have been received also from Mr. George Fort

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Milton of Chattanooga, Tennessee, and Mr. J. C. Ficklin of Chicago. The author wishes also to acknowledge the kind and helpful service of Dr. W. E. Dodd, then of the University of Chicago, under whose direction the work was undertaken.

## CHAPTER I

### THE EARLY YEARS

Like many of the early settlers of Illinois William A. Richardson came from the state of Kentucky. He was born in Fayette County on the sixteenth of January, 1811. His father, James L. Richardson, died when William was at the age of five and the little son was left to the tender care of his mother. The wife of James Richardson possessed a good heritage, for she was a direct descendant of the Edmonson family of Virginia. Her great-grandfather, Thomas Edmonson, and her great-grandmother, the former Martha Campbell, had migrated from Scotland to America in the early part of the eighteenth century and settled in Pennsylvania. Their son William, born in 1724, followed the Shenandoah Valley down to Augusta County, Virginia, there married Nancy Montgomery, and then continued on to what is now Washington County to establish a permanent home. Here, on the banks of the Holston River the couple chose a site near the present Abingdon, and in the midst of the oaks and sugar-maples built the two-story log mansion that was to be occupied by the family for several generations to come. When Cornwallis sent his grenadiers into North Carolina during the Revolution, William joined Colonel Campbell's Virginia Rangers and, as captain, took part in the battle of King's Mountain. One of his sons, John, was a non-commissioned officer in the father's company. After the Revolution John and his wife, the former

Margaret Montgomery, followed the trail across the Alleghenies into Kentucky and settled at Boone Creek. Carrying on the military tradition of the family, John became captain of a company of volunteers to ward off the meddlesome Indians, joined the American forces in the War of 1812, and met his death at the battle of River Raisin in January, 1813. He was the father of three children one of whom was named Mary who later became the wife of James Richardson and the mother of William.<sup>1</sup>

It had been the wish of James Richardson that upon his death his estate should be used to provide a liberal education for his children. In accordance with this plan, William was sent first to the log schoolhouse near his home, and after acquiring the rudimentary training it afforded, he went to Walnut Hill for a period of three years to prepare for college. From here he transferred to Transylvania University in Lexington. At the end of his junior year he left the university and became a schoolteacher. But another profession offered to him more attraction and opportunities. After one year in the schoolroom, he entered the office of Allen and Simpson in Winchester, Clark County, to study law. In 1831 he was admitted to practice.<sup>2</sup>

Across the river from Kentucky were the fertile acres of the Illinois prairies being taken up by settlers from the South and the East. To the young lawyer, eager for experience and adventure, the new country appeared as a fertile field for one of his own profession. In the same year in which he was admitted to the bar in Kentucky, Richardson migrated to Illinois, settled in Shelbyville, and shared the law office of W. L. D. Ewing. In November of the next year he moved westward, stopped at Rushville, and opened up a law office of his own. He had been there but two

<sup>1</sup>Manuscripts of Wm. A. Richardson, Jr., Introduction. Hereafter referred to as Richardson Mss.

<sup>2</sup>*The United States Biographical Dictionary and Portrait Gallery of Eminent Self-Made Men.* Illinois Volume, p. 602.



years when the legislature elected him States Attorney for his district.<sup>3</sup>

It was natural for his interest to turn to politics. Most of those in his profession had strong partisan feelings and hoped to hold high offices as the youthful, struggling state became older and more mature. Richardson, as a Jackson Democrat, entered the race for the legislature and in 1836 was elected. He resigned his office of States Attorney and in December appeared at the old state capitol in Vandalia to represent the county of Schuyler in the House.<sup>4</sup>

One cannot study the early political history of Illinois without pausing to give especial concern to the legislature of 1836-37. Names which appeared on its roll were later to appear again and again on the roll of honor of the state and nation. From Sangamon County had come Abraham Lincoln and from Morgan were Stephen A. Douglas and John Hardin. Among their colleagues were James Shields from Randolph County, John Hogan and James Semple from Madison, John A. McClernand from Gallatin, Augustus French from Crawford, John Moore from McLean, John A. Logan from Jackson, Usher F. Linder from Coles, and John Dement from Fayette. Some of these like Lincoln and Douglas, Richardson had met previously before the bar, but now came the treasured opportunity to foster enduring acquaintanceships with the promising, youthful politicians from all parts of the state. And it was a spirit of youthfulness which predominated in this environment. Richardson was but twenty-five, Douglas was even younger by two years, and Lincoln had in February reached only twenty-seven.

In the hours of daylight the House and the Senate met to consider proposals for legislation, but at evening time the weary minds sought relaxation. Banquets, dances, and par-

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 602.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 602.

ties were frequent and many. When a political victory occurred, the chieftains of the party which won provided an appropriate celebration. The election of Richard Young to the Senate gave the occasion for a banquet at which Douglas and Shields danced up and down the table, scattering the dishes and silverware so that the bill to the new senator was for six hundred dollars.<sup>5</sup> In the Hall of Representatives was organized the "Lobby," presided over by J. W. Whitney of Quincy. No qualification was made for membership except that when anyone ascended the platform he was to give an interesting speech. If he did not comply, the chairman adjourned the meeting until the speaker left the platform and then called it together again. Here the legislators came to discuss in the evening the topics that were before their respective houses during the day. Richardson, participating with the others, had hours of enjoyment and secured a valuable experience in speaking and debate.<sup>6</sup>

The predominant question before the legislature of 1836-37 was that of providing appropriate transportation facilities for the growing state. At that time there was not a railroad in Illinois. The Illinois and Michigan Canal had been begun, but never completed. The wagon roads were in certain seasons practically impassable. In the legislature the problem became more complicated as each legislator made it imperative that he wanted a railroad or canal through his own home town. Douglas presented a conservative three-fold plan, but when a more elaborate one was proposed he followed the advice of his constituency and sponsored the latter in preference to his own. How the canals and railroads which the elaborate plan estimated would cost nearly ten million dollars would be paid for,

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<sup>5</sup>Frank E. Stevens, "Life of Stephen A. Douglas," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*. XVI, 299.

<sup>6</sup>Scrapbook of Wm. A. Richardson, Jr. Hereafter referred to as *Richardson's Scrapbook*.

no one was absolutely certain, although John Hogan, the Methodist parson from Alton, believed that by bonding the state a proper arrangement could be made. The bonds, he said, would sell like "hot cakes," the premium on them would be sufficient to pay for the improvements, and the principal when placed in the treasury would make the people "free from taxation for years to come."<sup>7</sup> To Richardson the plan was infeasible. When the bill came up on the 31st of January he recorded his vote against it.<sup>8</sup>

Among the other problems of the time was that of deciding where the capital should be located after the charter of Vandalia would expire. Lincoln had a primary interest in the House, which was to secure sufficient votes in favor of Springfield. When the vote was taken it revealed that his effort was successful and that Richardson had joined the group who supported him.<sup>9</sup> When the legislature met in special session in July, 1837, and the problem of stabilizing banking conditions was taken up, Richardson supported the measure to make stockholders and directors of banks responsible for the redemption of notes held by citizens of the state.<sup>10</sup> Governor Duncan, in his message, had pointed out how the prosperity of the country was fostered by the United States bank. This was bitter medicine to be offered the loyal Democrats of the House. A resolution declaring that this statement was "contrary to the assertion of the patriot and statesman, General Jackson," was drawn up and with the support of Richardson and others of his party put upon the record.<sup>11</sup>

Having served through his term in the House, Richardson returned to Rushville and in 1838 entered the race for

<sup>7</sup>U. F. Linder. *Recollections of Early Bench and Bar in Illinois*, p. 58.

<sup>8</sup>*Journal of the House of Representatives of the Tenth General Assembly of the State of Illinois, 1836*, p. 724.

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 757.

<sup>10</sup>*Richardson Mss., Introduction.*

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*

the State Senate. His Whig opponent was Isaac Vandeventer. Election day over, the returns showed that Richardson had won by only seven votes. The campaign managers for Vandeventer were J. W. Singleton and T. Lyle Dickey. When it became obvious that their champion had been defeated by so narrow a margin, the managers induced Vandeventer to ask for another election. This, Richardson was willing to grant, providing that the Whig candidate would agree to "stay beat." This reply touched Dickey and Singleton rather adversely and they concluded it sufficient cause for a duel. They drew up the letter of challenge, went to the hotel of Vandeventer for his signature, but upon inquiring of the clerk, learned that their candidate had slipped out of town.<sup>12</sup> With no further objection from his opponent, Richardson departed for Springfield. When the session was over he did not seek re-election, but returned to Rushville to continue his practice of law.

In 1844 Richardson entered politics again. The Schuyler County Democracy nominated him for the state House of Representatives, while on the state ticket his name appeared as an elector for Polk and Dallas. To both positions he was chosen. The race for the House was made against General Singleton. When Richardson came to Springfield to take his seat, the House honored him by electing him speaker.<sup>13</sup>

When the war with Mexico broke out in 1846, Richardson raised a company of volunteers, was elected its captain, and then joined the troops at Alton where they were placed in the regiment under the command of J. J. Hardin. The regiment proceeded to San Antonio, Texas, crossed the Rio Grande at Presidio, and at Saltillo joined General Taylor under whose command they remained until the end of their enlistment. On the field of Buena Vista Richardson was

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<sup>12</sup>D. W. Lusk, *Eighty Years of Illinois*. Appendix, p. 55.

<sup>13</sup>U. S. *Biographical Dictionary*, *Illinois Volume*, p. 602.



promoted to the position of Lieutenant-Colonel. In July, 1847, when his term of service expired he returned home to Rushville. With his law practice permitted to deteriorate and his military career at an end his prospects for the future looked unpromising. It remained for the achievements of a very close friend to permit greater success to come to himself.<sup>14</sup>

## CHAPTER II

## THE LIEUTENANT OF DOUGLAS

While Richardson was winning laurels in the legislature and in the army one of his fellow Democrats was climbing to higher positions of honor. Stephen A. Douglas had in 1841 resigned his office of Secretary of State, accepted a seat on the State Supreme Court, and upon being assigned to the Quincy district removed to that town to live. Accustomed to a more active participation in politics he preferred to retire from the bench and enter the campaign for Congress. For three successive times Douglas was chosen to represent the 5th Illinois district in the national legislature. In the winter of 1846 when the term of General Semple was about to expire Douglas was elected to the United States Senate.

The Democrats of his home district in searching for someone to complete the unexpired term considered the qualifications of Richardson and at the district convention tendered him the nomination. One month after Richardson's return from Mexico the election took place. For the nominee and his party it was a splendid success. The popularity of Richardson just home from fighting for his country was tremendous. To him were given 11,432 votes, while his

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<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 602.



opponent, Nathaniel Wilcox, received but a few thousand.<sup>15</sup> When Congress opened, Richardson was in Washington to join the others of the Illinois delegation in the House. Among them were several whom he had met previously in politics or before the bar. There were John A. McClermand and Orlando B. Ficklin, both staunch Democrats, and Abraham Lincoln, the Whig representative from Springfield. On the floor of the House the new member did little toward making a brilliant record for himself. On the twentieth of December, 1847, he presented a resolution declaring the war with Mexico "just and necessary" but was unable to get it adopted,<sup>16</sup> and on the fourteenth of July he made a few remarks in defense of John Hardin who had led his regiment at Buena Vista until his death.<sup>17</sup> In 1848 came another local and national campaign. Richardson was renominated and without opposition granted another term.<sup>18</sup>

Soon after locating at Rushville Richardson had become a frequent visitor in Quincy. In the daytime he attended court or talked politics with his friends, and in the evening he called to pay his respects to the lovely Cornelia Sullivan who in 1836 became his wife.<sup>19</sup> Prior to the opening of the campaign of 1850 he abandoned his law office in Rushville and established himself in Quincy. The town to which he came was then but a quarter-century old, but claimed at the time about six and one-half thousand inhabitants. In that year, 1849, there was not much evidence of abundant local prosperity. The migration to the gold-fields of California claimed about 200 of the population, among them, John Wood, the first settler of the city. The incoming foreigners were changing the racial character of the population of

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<sup>15</sup>"Illinois Election Returns," *Collections of Illinois State Historical Library*. XVIII, 172.

<sup>16</sup>*Congressional Globe*, 30th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 59.

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 934.

<sup>18</sup>John Tillson, *History of the City of Quincy, Illinois*.

<sup>19</sup>*Richardson Mss., Introduction*, p. 118.

the city to the extent that only about one-half of the inhabitants were native Americans. The senatorial race between Sidney Breese and James Shields added enthusiasm to the local affairs as both men visited the place during the campaign.<sup>20</sup>

Richardson had in 1847 followed Douglas into Congress and in 1849 was becoming a fellow-townsmen to him in Quincy. Socially and politically the interests of the two men were becoming more identical. In Congress the two supported the provisions of the Compromise of 1850, Richardson voting for all and Douglas answering "aye" to all but the Fugitive Slave Bill which he would have voted for had he been present. When Douglas returned to Chicago he was confronted by a resolution of a meeting of citizens in the city hall condemning the Fugitive Slave Bill. In Peoria, Richardson, on his way home from Washington took the platform in defense of his own vote. Here he pointed out that personally he was opposed to the Fugitive Slave Law, but for the sake of securing the admission of California and the passage of the territorial bills he had supported it.<sup>21</sup>

In the congressional campaign then in progress, Richardson's opponent was Orville H. Browning. The two men had first met in the Black Hawk War when both had lost their horses and after finding them had ridden together until they caught up with the other troops.<sup>22</sup> In the legislature of 1834-35 their names were presented for States Attorney; Richardson, as has been noted, receiving the office, and curiously enough with the aid of the vote of Abraham Lincoln. When Richardson went in 1836 to Vandalia to serve as a representative of Schuyler County in the House, Browning came also as a Senator from Adams. The two

<sup>20</sup>Tillson, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

<sup>21</sup>*Peoria Democratic Press*, quoted in *Quincy Herald*, Oct. 19, 1850.

<sup>22</sup>Speech of Browning at Meeting of Members of Quincy Bar, *Richardson Mss.*

now engaged in political combat were to meet many times thereafter. They did not realize then that Richardson would replace Browning in the Senate and then conduct him about Washington when the latter came to practice before the Supreme Court, nor that Browning was to make the address at the Quincy bar upon the death of Richardson. In the campaign the contrast of personalities was as significant as that of opinions. Browning, like Richardson, was born in Kentucky and came to Illinois in 1831. While Richardson acquired the aspects of the frontiersman Browning remained the cavalier. The latter's home was known widely for its generous hospitality and the host and hostess for their culture and refinement. Browning's Sundays were spent with his Bible at church or in the quiet of his study, his New Year's day in calling at his neighbors to give the season's greetings, and his spare moments in visiting the theatre and lyceum. Richardson loved the rough and rugged life of the pioneer politician. His huge body shook emotionally as his deep voice roared forth his arguments. In his mannerisms he was unguardedly rough, almost crude at times. To his family and friends, however, he revealed the deepest kindness, but to his enemies he was unmerciful. His intellectual background made it possible for him to study and analyze the problems of the day, yet it appears that he was uninterested in acquiring a wide knowledge that would develop him into a cultured man. In the campaign Richardson was placed on the defensive, for Browning repeatedly assailed his support of the Fugitive Slave Bill. The city of Quincy gave a majority of fifty to Browning. The victory, however, went to Richardson, who received majorities in seven of the ten counties in the district.<sup>23</sup>

As the year 1852 approached, Richardson made it known that he intended to leave politics at the end of his term and return to private life. He had made arrangements

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<sup>23</sup>*Quincy Herald*, Nov. 16, 1850.

with a person in New York to invest \$100,000 in Chicago real estate, the profits on which were to be equally divided between the person and himself. He expected to remove to Chicago and there attempt to establish a flourishing practice of law. Other events determined new plans. In the district convention at Quincy on July 21, 1852, there came a deadlock over the nomination of Richardson's successor. Austin Brooks of the *Quincy Herald* telegraphed to Richardson in Washington for permission to present his name. Richardson at first ignored the request. Soon, however, he was visited by Douglas and Shields bearing telegrams from Brooks requesting them to use their influence to secure the desired consent of Richardson. Richardson sent them to his wife to get her permission for him to re-enter politics. Her approval granted, he notified Brooks and the convention nominated him again.<sup>24</sup> The "Little Giant" was taking a deep interest in his successor in the House. There was great work ahead and a faithful lieutenant could be of much service in furthering personal and party interests.

The Whigs meanwhile put forward Browning, their strongest man. Another test of strength in campaigning came. The two nominees canvassed the district separately and also met for joint debates in schoolrooms, warehouses, churches and assembly rooms. Browning's aide and adviser throughout the campaign was J. W. Singleton. When his own horse gave out it was Singleton's "Old Jake" that was hitched to the Browning buggy, and when Browning was in the vicinity of Mt. Sterling at twilight it was at the Singleton home where he rested and ate.<sup>25</sup> When more help was needed Browning called in Archie Williams and U. F. Linder. Williams who had been regarded the home-

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<sup>24</sup>*Richardson Mss.*, p. 50.

<sup>25</sup>"The Diary of Orville H. Browning," *Collections of Illinois State Historical Library*, XX, Lincoln Series II. 72. Hereafter referred to as Browning's *Diary*.



liest man in the legislature with the possible exception of Lincoln, and Linder whose eloquence had stirred the crowds at Alton in 1837, now stumped the district in the cause of the Whigs. Richardson thereupon called in Douglas who was ready to share his skill in campaigning wherever the party needed him.<sup>26</sup> The campaign for Browning was made more difficult because of his personal disagreement with the platform of his party. At the national convention the Whigs had resolved to support and enforce the Fugitive Slave Law. On this platform General Scott was seeking the Presidency. To Browning the law was obnoxious; he could not speak favorably of it and yet he could not completely refuse to follow party policy. On the day after election he wrote in his diary, "Scott is beaten . . . it fills me with despondency to see such a man as Pierce elevated to the highest office on earth . . . General Scott has beaten me."<sup>27</sup>

The interest which Douglas took in the campaign of Richardson tended to strengthen the political companionship between the two. When Congress opened in the fall Richardson was in position to return some service to the man whom he now recognized as his chief. In the Senate Douglas was Chairman of the Committee on Territories. In the House Richardson occupied a corresponding place. It was well known that Douglas was interested in providing a territorial government for the region of which the Platte, or Nebraska River, was the central stream. In 1844 he introduced a bill in the House for that purpose, but no action was taken upon it. In 1848 he introduced a second bill and in 1852 a third.<sup>28</sup> The subject was now to come up again, but it was Richardson who this time took the lead. On February 2, 1853, he introduced a bill to organize the

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<sup>26</sup>Linder, *op. cit.*, p. 238.

<sup>27</sup>Browning's *Diary*, p. 80.

<sup>28</sup>Allen Johnson, *Stephen A. Douglas*, p. 220.



territory of Nebraska. The bill, having in it no reference to slavery, was ably supported on the floor by Richardson, Hall of Missouri, and the anti-slavery leader, Giddings of Ohio. It passed the House on February 10, 1853, by a vote of 98 to 43. On the 17th Douglas reported the bill as it came from the House and two successive times thereafter tried to bring it up for consideration only to see it laid on the table the day before adjournment.<sup>29</sup>

In the succeeding session the subject was brought before Congress when Richardson and Douglas each introduced a bill in their respective houses. The bill of the former was reported from the Committee on Territories to the House on the 31st of January, 1854, and that of Douglas received the approval of the Senate on the 3rd of March. The measure which Douglas was sponsoring called for the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. It embodied also the principle of popular sovereignty—the principle which asserted that the people of the territories should be privileged to choose for themselves whether or not they would permit slavery. When this bill was brought to the House it rested unnoticed until on the 21st of March Richardson moved to refer it to the Committee on Territories. Cutting of New York moved to refer it to the Committee of the Whole House, which motion carried by a vote of 110-95.<sup>30</sup> Further action was deferred until May 3 when Richardson obtained the floor after the reading of the journal and moved that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole on the State of the Union. He then moved to lay aside the Deficiency Bill, the Army Appropriations Bill, and sixteen others which followed it on the calendar until the Committee came to the House Bill on Kansas and Nebraska.<sup>31</sup> The House, understanding the motive of Rich-

<sup>29</sup>Stevens, *op. cit.*, p. 429-436.

<sup>30</sup>*Congressional Globe*, 33rd Cong., 1st Sess., p. 700.

<sup>31</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 1130.

ardson, expected this measure to be taken up immediately, but paused to indulge in laughter when Washburn of Maine moved to lay aside the Kansas-Nebraska Bill too. Campbell of Ohio, in a more serious mood, made a similar motion which when brought to the vote of the House was defeated 85-105.<sup>32</sup> Richardson then informed the House that he would offer a substitute to the House bill in the form of the Senate measure, without the Clayton Amendment.<sup>33</sup> For the following two days the Committee proceeded to debate the bill which had originated in the House. On Thursday, May 11, Richardson obtained the floor, moved that the debate close the following day at twelve o'clock, and on that motion called the previous question. Objections immediately arose, the House was thrown into confusion, and after a thirty-six hour session, adjournment came without any decision on the motion.<sup>34</sup> On Monday, May 15, Richardson proposed to give until Saturday before closing debate.<sup>35</sup> With the support of ten northern Democrats the requisite two-thirds vote was given to let the bill have preference over the Pacific Railroad bill which had the special order for the week. When on the following Monday the Committee assembled again, Alexander H. Stephens moved to strike out the enacting clause.<sup>36</sup> He frankly said that his object was to cut off all amendments and have the bill reported back to the House that a vote might be taken upon it immediately. The motion was agreed to, the Committee rose and recommended to the House that the enacting clause be struck out. To this the House would not agree. Richardson then moved to amend the bill by striking out all after the enacting clause and inserting in lieu thereof

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<sup>32</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 1132.

<sup>33</sup>The Clayton amendment was designed to prevent from voting in the territory those aliens who did not have their final naturalization papers.

<sup>34</sup>*Congressional Globe*, 33rd Cong., 1st Sess., p. 1182.

<sup>35</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 1188.

<sup>36</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 1240.

the Senate bill without the Clayton amendment. Near the hour of midnight the House passed the bill by a vote of 113 to 100.<sup>37</sup> Two days later it was taken to the Senate and by that body approved on May 25.<sup>38</sup>

While the debate was going on in the Committee and in the House Richardson played the part of Douglas' manager and did little speaking himself. In fact, of the more than one hundred speeches in the Committee only one was delivered by the bill's sponsor and that came at the close of the debate. Of the colleagues of Richardson from Illinois, those of Whig affiliation cast their votes against the bill, and the four Democrats divided their strength with two voting in favor, one against, and one not voting because of his absence at the time.<sup>39</sup> The one Democrat who refused to support the bill was John Wentworth, the editor of the *Chicago Democrat*. He was now denounced by Douglas as champion of the abolitionists and was forever after to remain hostile to the man who denounced him.

When Douglas returned to Chicago which he had made his home city two years before, he was refused the opportunity to speak. When Richardson reached Quincy he found that meetings composed of both Democrats and Whigs had resolved to condemn the Kansas-Nebraska Act.<sup>40</sup> In spite of this reaction the Democracy of the 5th District did not renounce him. At the convention at Mt. Sterling two of those placed in nomination, viz., Dr. Sutpin and I. N. Morris withdrew, leaving the contest to Richardson and John Richmond. When Richardson received more than the required two-thirds vote Richmond came forward

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<sup>37</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 1254.

<sup>38</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 1320.

<sup>39</sup>The Whigs were E. B. Washburne, J. O. Horton, James Knox and Richard Yates. The four Democrats besides Richardson were John Wentworth, James C. Allen, Willis Allen and Wm. H. Bissell. Bissell was the one who did not vote.

<sup>40</sup>Tillson, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

and asked that a zealous support be granted to the choice of the convention.<sup>41</sup>

The experience at Washington had given to Richardson a national reputation. When his renomination became known a note of rejoicing appeared in the pages of the *Northeast Missourian*, the *Washington Union*, and the *Boston Post*.<sup>42</sup> And when in November he defeated Judge Williams, the *St. Louis Pilot* remarked that it was "one of the most signal triumphs ever achieved,"<sup>43</sup> and the Bangor, Maine, *Mercury* recalled that the victor was "a generous and gallant fellow."<sup>44</sup> Of those who supported the Kansas-Nebraska Act in the House, Richardson was the only one to be re-elected by an increased majority.<sup>45</sup> When the new term began in December, 1855, the seventy-nine Democrats in caucus chose Richardson as their nominee for speaker. For him seventy-four voted consistently until the withdrawal of his name after the 121st ballot. Inasmuch as the strength of the Anti-Nebraska group far exceeded that of the Democrats, it was impossible, if party lines were followed, for one of the latter to be elected. Consequently, the withdrawal of Richardson did not signify a belief in loss of party confidence. The tenseness of the situation necessitated some conciliation which when carried to the adoption of special methods resulted in the selection of Banks of Massachusetts.<sup>46</sup>

The approach of the gubernatorial contest in Illinois called for the attention of party leaders. At a convention in Bloomington on May 29, 1857, the new Anti-Nebraska faction chose Wm. H. Bissell of Belleville. It had been expected for some time that he would be given the honor,

<sup>41</sup>*Quincy Herald*, Aug. 17, 1854.

<sup>42</sup>Quoted in *Quincy Herald*, Sept. 11, Oct. 4, 1854.

<sup>43</sup>*Ibid.*, Nov. 30, 1854.

<sup>44</sup>*Ibid.*, Dec. 1, 1854.

<sup>45</sup>*U. S. Biographical Dictionary*, *op. cit.*, p. 602.

<sup>46</sup>*Congressional Globe*, 34th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 342.



especially since February 22, when his name was earnestly suggested at a meeting of Illinois editors in Decatur. On the first of the previous December, McClernand, the chairman of the State Central Committee, had sent out a call for a Democratic convention to meet at Springfield on the first of May.<sup>47</sup> Of the Democratic men in the state Richardson was second only to Douglas. A peculiar circumstance which served to advance his name occurred at a military celebration in Chicago during the spring of 1856. A company of Chicago militia made a complimentary visit to Douglas at his home on the lake shore, and while there, in a boisterous manner, nominated Richardson for governor. It was an unusual occurrence in political circles. The fusion press now broke out with attacks on the "dictatorship" of Douglas, the man who needed a lieutenant in his race for the Presidency as well as in his congressional program.<sup>48</sup> Richardson, himself, had indicated that he did not wish the nomination. The *Illinois State Register* took him at his word. The *Quincy Herald* did likewise, and, in fact, thought that it would be inadvisable to nominate him. Its argument was that if he were chosen he would have to give up his seat in the House, and it might not be possible to select a Democrat in his place.<sup>49</sup> In the Springfield convention the delegates divided their votes on the first ballot between John Dement, Murray McConnel, Amos Brooks, and Richardson. On the third ballot Richardson received a majority, whereupon the convention tendered him the nomination and gave to the closest contender, John Moore, the nomination for state treasurer.<sup>50</sup>

Inasmuch as the nomination came in the year of a presidential election, Richardson was given the opportunity to be of further personal service to Douglas. When the Demo-

<sup>47</sup>Stevens, *op. cit.*, p. 502.

<sup>48</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 503.

<sup>49</sup>*Quincy Herald*, Mar. 17, 1856.

<sup>50</sup>*Ibid.*, May 12, 1856.



cratic National Convention met at Cincinnati, Richardson came with the state delegation to cast the vote of Illinois for her senior senator. Douglas, then in Washington, carefully studied the reports of the convention's proceedings. On June 4 he sent to Richardson a message which suggested, "If the withdrawal of my name will contribute to the harmony of the party, or the success of our cause, I hope you will not hesitate to take the step."<sup>51</sup> This communication when read to the convention was greeted with tremendous applause. At nine o'clock on the next morning he sent another telegram agreeing with the platform that had by then been adopted, and a half-hour later despatched another requesting that his name be withdrawn since Buchanan already had a majority and was evidently the choice of the party.<sup>52</sup> Richardson in complying with these wishes won the respect of the convention, but did not realize complete satisfaction for himself. He could look upon the platform with a feeling of triumph, for it pledged the party to support the principle set forth in the Kansas-Nebraska Act. But to have to carry on a campaign in Illinois with someone other than Douglas at the head of the ticket would be a task more difficult than he had hoped for. Nevertheless, the campaign had to be carried on.

On July 4, Richardson stopped at Chicago on his return from Washington where he had been since the convention. He called at the home of Hamilton, the candidate for Lieutenant-Governor, and talked over arrangements for the canvass.<sup>53</sup> Proceeding on toward Quincy he paused at main points along the way to talk politics with the local leaders. A warm reception by his friends awaited him in Quincy, yet it was evident that not all was well politically. General Singleton, who had left Browning at the parting of the ways

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<sup>51</sup>Stevens, *op. cit.*, p. 509.

<sup>52</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 510.

<sup>53</sup>Richardson *Mss.*, p. 70.

and became a Nebraska man after 1854, had run on the Democratic ticket for mayor and was defeated. To bring the people back into line Richardson made the walls of the Quincy courthouse ring once again with his vocal thunder.<sup>54</sup>

In the campaign Richardson relied some on the services of Douglas who spoke throughout the state. But the influence of the "Little Giant" was demanded elsewhere to further the cause of Buchanan, and consequently much of his time was spent in other states. The task of Richardson was made even more difficult by the personal popularity of his Republican opponent. Bissell was equipped with a splendid education, having prepared himself first in medicine, and then having given several years to teaching school after coming to Illinois in 1837. In the Mexican War he had commanded the second Illinois regiment, and upon his return he gave service to his community as its representative in Congress. Now suffering from a physical handicap he could not venture out to canvass the state, but welcomed the Republicans to his home to give suggestions and hear him speak. His charming eloquence and graceful gestures made him an attractive speaker. To those who greeted him he was always approachable and courteous. Somewhat unlike his opponent, he had no taste for intoxicants and looked with horror on the old-time saloon.

The problem of winning sufficient votes was enlarged by two other factors. The existence of what appeared to be a strong Know-Nothing party, with Fillmore seeking the Presidency and Buckner S. Morris of Chicago, the governorship, threatened the strength of both parties and made the outcome more uncertain. Richardson had previously made it plain that he was not a member of any secret organization or party and trusted that he should never be identified with them.<sup>55</sup> His opponent was an adherent of

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<sup>54</sup>*Quincy Herald*, July 21, 1856.

<sup>55</sup>*Quincy Herald*, Jan. 1, 1855.

the Catholic faith.<sup>56</sup> It seemed, therefore, that neither candidate could expect any support from those of nativist affiliation. A second factor was the suffering which came to the party from the split of 1854. The Republican nominee had been a Democrat himself, with Free-Soil beliefs, the colleague of Douglas, Trumbull, had been of the same faith, the retiring Lieut.-Governor, Gustave Koerner, was making good Republicans out of his German brethren, and up in Chicago John Wentworth was continuing his attacks on Douglas. The party could look for support in the southern districts, but the northern part of the state threatened to vote as a unit for the Republicans. An issue of a more personal type arose from the charge that Bissell, once, after a debate on the floor of the House, had accepted a challenge from "Jeff" Davis for a duel. If the charge were true and Bissell were elected, he would be prevented by the state constitution from taking the oath of office. The party in opposition did not press the accusation in the campaign, although when the first Republican governor sent his message to the legislature the fiery John Logan took two days to remind the Senate that the governor was disqualified.<sup>57</sup>

In the election Richardson met his first political defeat. He ran ahead of Buchanan by more than a thousand votes, but received 4,729 less than Bissell. How Buchanan won over Fremont and Richardson lost to Bissell can be seen in the fact that Fillmore, the Know-Nothing candidate for President, received 37,451 votes, while Morris, the candidate for governor, was given but 19,261. The defection in the nativist vote resulted in giving a large support to Bissell the most popular in a personal way of the gubernatorial candidates.<sup>58</sup>

In August, 1856, Richardson had resigned from Congress to give all of his time to seeking the governorship. When

<sup>56</sup>A. C. Cole, *The Era of the Civil War*, p. 152.

<sup>57</sup>G. Koerner, *Memoirs*, II, 39.

<sup>58</sup>Cole, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

the campaign was over, he resumed his law practice, and in the following March went with his family on a visit to relatives in Kentucky.<sup>59</sup> Upon his return he found that his name had been mentioned as a candidate for the vacant governorship of Kansas. That he wanted the appointment, the *Quincy Herald* said, was not true, for "The President has no office within his gift which Col. Richardson would accept."<sup>60</sup> Although this position was not offered to Richardson he did receive from Buchanan the appointment as governor of Nebraska. The appointment came at the time that Douglas was opposing the President's support of the Lecompton Constitution of Kansas and was for Richardson a test of personal and party loyalty. The charge was made when the appointment was accepted that Richardson had surrendered his position on the Lecompton Constitution and had taken on the opinion of the President. To this the *Philadelphia Press* answered, "This is a cruel insult to that gallant soldier. . . . He stands now, as before, side by side with his devoted friend, Judge Douglas."<sup>61</sup> When General Singleton returned to Quincy from a trip to Washington he gave what were taken to be the true facts on the situation. According to his account, after Douglas had delivered his speech in the Senate against the way in which the Kansas problem was being cared for, Richardson made a personal call at the White House. There, in the presence of Singleton, he informed the President that he agreed with the sentiments of Douglas, and if the President, after learning this, felt disposed to withdraw the appointment, Richardson would not object. With this understanding the President sent the nomination to the Senate. Richardson, desiring to act in accordance with the wishes of Douglas, visited the latter and received the advice that there was no

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<sup>59</sup>*Richardson Mss.*, p. 78.

<sup>60</sup>*Quincy Herald*, Mar. 27, 1857.

<sup>61</sup>Quoted in *Quincy Herald*, Dec. 22, 1857.



reason why he should not accept. When the subject came up in the Senate it was upon the motion of Douglas that the rules were suspended in order that the nomination might be confirmed without delay.<sup>62</sup> The motive which the President might have had in insisting on giving the appointment to a Douglas lieutenant, Singleton did not dwell upon. His account did give to the home folks in Quincy an assurance that their former Representative retained an unshaken faith in their Democratic Senator.

The financial panic of 1857 worked great hardship on the livelihood of Richardson. His real estate in Chicago was lost and his property at home came near going the same way.<sup>63</sup> A recollection of this in his mind and his next few months destined to be spent in separation from his family, his departure on January 4, 1858, for Nebraska could hardly have been a pleasant one. On the 13th he arrived in Omaha. Not more than six hours before he came was the exact time of his arrival known. Nevertheless, a warm reception awaited him. In the Hamilton House, where the proprietor, Mr. Salisbury, had set out a sumptuous feast, Mr. Turk of Dakota delivered the address of welcome to which the governor gave a cordial reply. A speech of a more humorous nature by Hon. Samuel Black, Associate Justice, followed and the hall was cleared for the evening dance.<sup>64</sup>

The spirit of happiness and friendship which pervaded the festival was much in contrast to that in the territorial legislature. Within the week before the governor's arrival, Mills S. Reeves of Otoe County arose in the Council, moved that they adjourn to Florence, and when the President, George L. Miller of Omaha refused to entertain the motion, led a majority of the members from the hall. The faction

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<sup>62</sup>*Quincy Herald*, Dec. 22, 1857.

<sup>63</sup>*Richardson Mss.*, p. 82.

<sup>64</sup>*Omaha Times*, Jan. 13, 1858, quoted in *Quincy Herald*, Jan. 25, 1858.



under Reeves met at Florence while that under Miller remained at Omaha.<sup>65</sup> The latter body was recognized by Richardson on the ground that Omaha had to remain the legal seat of the government until some other place was selected by the legislature and the governor. Consequently, when bills came from the body at Florence he returned them without his approval or veto.<sup>66</sup> In September the governor called a special session of the legislature to meet at Omaha.<sup>67</sup> In his message he pointed out that the only law under which a crime could be punished in the territory was the common law of England, for all other criminal laws had been abolished by an act of a previous legislature. After recommending that this situation be cared for by creating a new criminal code he suggested that some steps be taken to improve the condition of the treasury. Furthermore, more appropriations should be made for public roads, and Congress should be memorialized to provide a geological survey for the territory. The governor pointed out that the Pacific Railroad which "thus far has only had its existence in the thoughts and plans of men will soon become a reality," and that "the true route for the road and the true interests of its contractors will almost certainly lead it up the rich and beautiful valley of the great Platte."<sup>68</sup> The legislature, now working more in harmony, provided the criminal code, perfected the organization of the courts of justice, made plans for a system of public roads to be paid for by labor or poll tax, and created a system of free schools.<sup>69</sup>

Previous to this meeting of the legislature the governor came home with the intention of taking his family back with him. But when he returned to Nebraska his family remained in Quincy. He had found in his home state that

<sup>65</sup>*Publications of Nebraska State Hist. Soc.*, XVIII, 312.

<sup>66</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 320.

<sup>67</sup>J. S. Morton, *Illustrated Hist. of Nebraska*, I, 356.

<sup>68</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 356.

<sup>69</sup>Richardson's *Scrapbook*.

the President was making war on the Douglas postmasters and appointing good administration men in their places.<sup>70</sup> In Quincy, for instance, Austin Brooks was removed and John Riley of Chicago given his position. When the latter declined, the appointment was given to W. C. Carlin. On the 16th of August, Richardson sent in his resignation to Secretary of State Cass.<sup>71</sup> The *Quincy Herald* predicted "He will return to this state in a few weeks and take the stump for Douglas."<sup>72</sup> Nevertheless, the campaign was at an end when on December 2 he left Nebraska for his home in Quincy.

When the campaign of 1858 resulted in the return of Douglas to the Senate the Democracy of Illinois considered the time opportune for piloting their leader to the White House. In the two preceding national conventions Douglas had received a favorable vote for the presidential nomination. Yet he had to continue through the remainder of the campaign to share his efforts for the success of someone else. Douglas wished to be President. The Democratic chieftains of his state were determined by 1860 that he should be. The state convention met at Springfield on January 4. The resolutions there drawn up reaffirmed the Cincinnati platform as to slavery, endorsed the Fugitive Slave Law, and declared that the Supreme Court was the only tribunal to which the constitutionality of laws could be referred for final decision. The convention chose twenty-two delegates to the national convention at Charleston and instructed them to use all "honorable means" to secure the nomination of Stephen A. Douglas.<sup>73</sup>

It was an interesting assortment of personalities which took the train for Charleston in the early part of April. At the head of the delegation was Richardson who was now

<sup>70</sup>*Richardson Mss.*, p. 90.

<sup>71</sup>Morton, *op. cit.*, p. 371.

<sup>72</sup>*Quincy Herald*, Sept. 2, 1858.

<sup>73</sup>*Ibid.*, Jan. 5, 1860.

eager to give all for the supreme success of the man he loved most. Among the others were Aaron Shaw of Lawrenceville, known as the circuit judge who never drank; General Thornton of Shelbyville, the master of scientific subjects; Zadoc Casey of Mount Vernon, the Methodist parson who by his experience as Lieutenant-Governor had become a skilled parliamentarian; O. B. Ficklin of Charleston, the honest lawyer who once said Douglas was wrong; Murray McConnel of Jacksonville, the learned chairman of the state convention; A. W. Herrington of Geneva, the fiery partisan whose interest was turning to railroads; and U. F. Linder of Chicago who had first been a Jackson-man, then a Whig, and was now a Democrat again. Many interests and many previous affiliations were here represented, yet all were now on the band-wagon of popular sovereignty.

The delegation paused at Washington for consultation with Douglas. There had been an apprehension on the part of some in the delegation that the northern and southern elements of the party would not keep united. Douglas, however, explained to them that the southern people would not follow their radical leaders, and convinced them that there would be no trouble in securing his own nomination.<sup>74</sup> Fears easily arose again, when the delegation arrived in Charleston and found itself in hostile territory. When the convention opened, the Douglas forces received their first rebuke in the selection of Caleb Cushing as permanent chairman. Cushing, although from Massachusetts, was on good terms with the southern faction, especially with Jefferson Davis whom he had welcomed to Faneuil Hall in 1858. To secure the nomination of Douglas and the adoption of a platform favorable to him, his men realized that certain gains would have to be made before the convention came to that part of its work. One of the first of these gains was the rejection of the Fernando Wood delegation of New

<sup>74</sup>Linder, *op. cit.*, p. 320.

York and the admission of that led by Richmond. When the question of the method of voting arose, Richardson spoke favorable to permitting individual balloting by those delegations that had not been instructed to do otherwise.<sup>75</sup> This method, when adopted, added about twenty-five votes to the strength of the Douglas faction, but there still remained some 130 that were resolved never to support Douglas. One other hope remained. Richardson, who at Cincinnati had withdrawn the name of Douglas, expected a majority for his candidate on the first ballot in Charleston.<sup>76</sup> He trusted that then the precedent set at Cincinnati would be followed and that the other candidates would withdraw. But before any hope like this could be realized the convention was rent asunder over the adoption of the platform.

The majority report of the Committee on Resolutions offered to the South its most cherished demand, viz., a definite assurance that slavery in the territories would receive protection from the federal government. A minority report, presented by Mr. Samuels of Iowa, reaffirmed the platform of Cincinnati and resolved further "That the Democratic Party will abide by the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States on the question of Constitutional Law."<sup>77</sup> Butler of Massachusetts, disagreeing with both of the resolutions, proposed to reaffirm the Cincinnati platform and go no further. When Butler's resolution was defeated, the report presented by Samuels was brought before the convention and adopted. Immediately the delegation from Alabama, including their master-orator, Yancey, withdrew from the convention and was followed by a great portion of those in the other southern delegations. It was a dark moment for the Douglas forces. Their success over the platform threatened to bring on the rejection of their can-

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<sup>75</sup>M. Halstead, *Caucuses of 1860*, p. 25.

<sup>76</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 20.

<sup>77</sup>*Official Proceedings of the Democratic National Convention, 1860*, p. 38.



didate and the utter destruction of the party. Feeling that some strategy must be attempted, Richardson arose and said that the Northwest would be satisfied with the reaffirmation of the Cincinnati platform.<sup>78</sup> This retrenchment brought the Douglas group back to the position maintained by Butler, but was of little value toward healing the schism. Richardson had spoken too late. The convention then proceeded toward making the nomination. After fifty-seven ballots without reaching a decision the body adjourned on May 3 to meet at Baltimore in June.

There was some explaining to do and some political fences to repair when Richardson returned to his home town in the latter part of May. In a speech at the Adams County courthouse he pointed out that it would now be impossible to co-operate with the southern party under Yancey. The fight would be a three-cornered one with the northern democracy opposing with equal severity the southern faction and the Republicans. Richardson declared that Douglas and himself had always stood for non-intervention of Congress as to the question of slavery in the territories and would never depart from that course.<sup>79</sup> The explaining was entirely pro-Douglas, and apparently the political fences were to go unrepaired.

Meanwhile, various Democratic journals throughout the state, the *Chicago Times* in particular, had put forth the name of Richardson as the party's nominee for governor. His own position on the idea was solicited by Brooks of the *Herald*. The reply stated that under no circumstances would he let his name be used. He was too poor to hold the office, if elected, he declared. Nevertheless, he gave his assurance that Douglas would be nominated at Baltimore, and anyone who would be placed on the ticket with him would be elected.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>78</sup>Halstead, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

<sup>79</sup>*Quincy Herald*, May 31, 1860.

<sup>80</sup>*Ibid.*



When the Democratic National Convention reconvened at the Front Street Theatre in Baltimore, the delegates resumed the task of selecting a nominee. Richardson, as chairman of the Illinois delegation, was present and as determined as ever to secure the choice of Douglas. A message came to him, however, from Douglas, giving instructions to withdraw his name if the interests of the party demanded it.<sup>81</sup> Richardson refrained at first from letting the convention know what he had received. Douglas thereupon despatched a similar letter to Dean Richmond of the New York delegation. Richmond, likewise, did not disclose at first what he had received and refused to take the name of Douglas from before the Convention. After the nomination was made Richardson told the Convention that Douglas would accept and also explained that he had received the above-mentioned message from him. The primary interest of Douglas appeared to be that of preserving party harmony in the convention. Richardson, seeing that it was impossible to keep the party as a unit, let his chief interest be that of securing the nomination of Douglas.

In the campaign that came after Baltimore, Richardson made a speaking tour of New England. According to his report to Douglas, as told by the latter to Lanphier, he believed that the northern Democracy would carry Maine, New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Connecticut.<sup>82</sup> Within a week after his return to Quincy occurred the Democratic district convention at Mt. Sterling.<sup>83</sup> For the nomination for Congressman the name of Richardson was presented by Hope Davis. Among the other candidates were Col. I. N. Morris and Col. C. A. Warren. Ill-feeling between the two men made the work of the convention more difficult until both withdrew. In the evening when the Adams County

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<sup>81</sup>Halstead, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

<sup>82</sup>Stevens, *op. cit.*, p. 625.

<sup>83</sup>*Quincy Herald*, July 26, 1860.

delegation returned to Quincy, a parade led by Captain Ovens and his company of "Hickorys" marched from the station to the Richardson home on the corner of 4th and Broadway. Here, Colonel Morris, his legs a bit stiff from his having been chased through the train by Warren's friend, Thomas Duff, climbed the flight of stone steps from sidewalk to lawn and notified Mrs. Richardson of her husband's success. From the lady who received the serenaders during Richardson's absence came the gracious reply, "I thank you, Colonel Morris, for your kindness, but Mr. Richardson did not want the nomination,—preferring to be free and work for Judge Douglas' election."<sup>84</sup>

"To work for Judge Douglas' election"—a purpose which the judge's lieutenant strove to fulfill. From his own campaign Richardson took time to speak for Douglas in Missouri, throughout Illinois, and on another trip through the East. It was the last effort for each of the two men to secure an office by popular vote. Richardson won over Captain Prentiss by a majority of 2265 votes. Douglas was unsuccessful in the nation as well as in his home state, the latter giving to Lincoln a plurality of 1200.<sup>85</sup>

In the following June came the end of their earthly friendship when death claimed the soul of Douglas. When the Illinois people asked that the body of Douglas be interred in the state rather than at Washington, Richardson called at the Oakenwald home of Mrs. Douglas and secured her permission to carry out the wish.<sup>86</sup> When later it was discovered that the property of the Senator had been mortgaged for full value, a committee on which Richardson was placed was appointed to reclaim a portion of land on which the widow could make her home.<sup>87</sup> Opportunity to give and

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<sup>84</sup>*Richardson Mss.*, p. 113.

<sup>85</sup>*Cole, op. cit.*, p. 200.

<sup>86</sup>*Quincy Herald*, June 5, 1861.

<sup>87</sup>*Richardson Mss.*, p. 129.

share mutual service no longer existed. The companionship, the inspiration, the soul of Douglas was gone. Inevitably, the absence of these was to determine a change in Richardson's political life.

### CHAPTER III

## WARTIME ACTIVITIES

After South Carolina passed her ordinance of secession, the political leaders of the country were faced with the problem of keeping the Union together. The Chief Executive believed that the Southern state had done wrong, but he knew of no constitutional way to punish her. Lincoln, then making plans to leave Springfield and take over the Presidency, made it imperative that the time for further compromising had passed. The attitude which the Democratic party would take was of utmost importance to the new administration. Stern methods could not be employed unless supported by a unity of sentiment. If the Northern Democracy were to use its strength in obstructing the work of the government under the new Republican party, the South might easily set up a confederacy that would divide the nation.

The party leaders of the state in Illinois met in convention at Springfield on January 16, 1861. In the chair was placed Zadoc Casey and the chairmanship of the committee on resolutions was tendered to Richardson. In the evening session Richardson made the report of the committee to the assembled delegations. The resolutions which were unanimously adopted denied the right of secession, but asserted that the military arm of the government should never be employed to enforce the laws in any state. Furthermore, they favored the repeal of the personal liberty laws in the

states where they had been passed.<sup>88</sup> Finally, the convention put its faith in a national body to be called to propose such amendments to the Constitution as would "produce peace, harmony, and fraternal feeling throughout the Union."<sup>89</sup> The spirit of conservation which emanated from the resolutions fairly permeated the convention as Richardson, Merri-  
 rick, Morrison, and other leaders in their speeches begged for conciliation and peace.

Upon his return home Richardson prepared to carry the issue before the people at a later day. He realized that the struggle would be a vigorous one, for within the party not all was agreeable. As Richardson related to his wife, in the convention there had been a rumpus when John A. Logan assailed Douglas and the remarks that had been made in the latter's "Virginia Speech" of August, 1860.<sup>90</sup> At a meeting in Quincy on March 22, addresses were made by Richardson, Colonel Morris, W. H. Carlin and Judge Skinner. The resolutions as reported by Hope Davis affirmed those of the state convention, giving especial emphasis to the one favoring constitutional amendments.<sup>91</sup>

After the war opened, the opinion of Richardson as to the proper course to pursue was solicited by M. M. Bane of Payson. In a lengthy letter came the reply that it was the duty of everyone to defend the flag, although it was to be hoped that the war would soon end.<sup>92</sup> When in the following year the war threatened to last indefinitely Richardson and Browning sat side by side and spoke on the same platform at Union meetings in Quincy. In his appeal to patriotic impulses, Richardson was revealing himself primarily a Unionist.

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<sup>88</sup>Illinois did not have any laws of this nature.

<sup>89</sup>*Quincy Herald*, Jan. 19, 1861.

<sup>90</sup>*Richardson Mss.*, p. 124.

<sup>91</sup>*Quincy Herald*, Mar. 22, 1861.

<sup>92</sup>*Ibid.*, May 4, 1861.



At the same time Richardson did not wish to lose his identity as a party man. On May 10, 1862, he joined others of his party in Congress at a meeting in the Hall of Representatives to draw up an address to the people of the country. In the chair was John J. Crittenden of Kentucky and at the Secretary's table was S. S. Cox of Ohio. The address which the members agreed to reviewed the party's record and then suggested that "neither the ancient principles, the policy, nor the past history of the Democratic party require, nor would justify its disbandment."<sup>93</sup> The House and Senate members who agreed to this called themselves Conservative Democrats. Their objective was to justify the existence of their party when the insistence upon a united effort in waging the war threatened to crush it out. Richardson, in addressing the meeting, pointed out that the party should, under the circumstances, further the war, but its first purpose should be to support the Constitution.<sup>94</sup>

Back in Illinois the problem to the party was what attitude should be taken toward the war. Should the war cease when the southern armies were overcome, or should it be carried to the utter extermination of the southern economic and social order, or should overtures of peace giving the victory to neither section be immediately proposed? It was a question which Richardson, the leading Democrat in the state had to answer.

In the autumn elections the people delegated to Springfield a new Democratic legislature, one of whose tasks was that of selecting a successor to Browning in the Senate. It was known that Richardson entertained the hope of sometime becoming a United States Senator. Back in August, 1860, he had informed Browning, while they chatted together in front of the Quincy House, that some move should be made to prevent the re-election of Trumbull. He promised

<sup>93</sup>*Quincy Herald*, May 14, 1862.

<sup>94</sup>*Ibid.*, May 17, 1862.



to bring the Democrats to the support of Browning if the latter cared to take the stand against Trumbull. In case, however, that the legislature became Democratic, he hoped that Browning "would form no combinations against him."<sup>95</sup> As the situation developed, Trumbull was granted another term. It was the untimely death of Douglas which had renewed and strengthened the aspirations of Richardson. The Republican Governor, Richard Yates, offered to appoint a Democratic successor to Douglas, but when the party refrained from accepting the offer, the honor was given to Browning. The appointment was to be held subject to the discretion of the legislature which when exercised, would be either to confirm the governor's action or to select someone else for the remainder of the term. Since the new legislature was Democratic, it was expected that Browning would be replaced by one whose party affiliation was opposite his own. The *Quincy Herald* advocated the election of Richardson, saying that it believed he would use his efforts to bring the war to an early close.<sup>96</sup> When the legislature met in December, 1862, General Singleton came over to Springfield, established headquarters in the interest of Richardson, and called in the legislators to have them consider the latter's qualifications.<sup>97</sup> His work was successful, for, in the election in January, sixty-six votes went to Richardson and thirty-seven to Governor Yates. Browning withdrew and again Richardson occupied a place once held by Douglas. Douglas had, a few months before his death, resolved to support the administration and its policy to end the rebellion. Would Richardson continue to lead the party in the direction which Douglas had pointed out?

The occasion which called forth his best effort was the meeting at Springfield, June 17, 1863. Previous to this

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<sup>95</sup>Browning's *Diary*, p. 422.

<sup>96</sup>*Quincy Herald*, Dec. 18, 1862.

<sup>97</sup>*Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 8, 1863.

date a number of events had happened to give cause for grievance by the Democrats. First among these was the arrest of Vallandigham at Dayton, Ohio, upon orders from General Burnside and his trial by a military tribunal. Although Vallandigham was the citizen of another state, the Illinois Democrats felt deep sympathy toward him. The act they considered unjust and if allowed to have popular sanction might be repeated against some of themselves. On June 1st the General issued another order suppressing the *Chicago Times*, the leading Democratic organ in the state. In Springfield itself the Democrats were aggravated by the proroguing of the Democratic legislature by the Republican governor, when no agreement could be reached as to the time of adjournment. But even before these events some members of the party were ready to demand peace. At a meeting at Springfield in January, Judge O'Melveny had declared the war to be "unconstitutional, unnecessary, and unjust." At the same time R. T. Merrick was "not in favor of giving a dollar or a man to carry it on," and O. B. Ficklin would "submit to anything for the sake of peace."<sup>98</sup>

At the Springfield meeting of June 17, Richardson was selected as chairman. Among the great number of vice-presidents were S. S. Cox of Ohio, ex-governor John Reynolds of Illinois, and D. W. Voorhees of Indiana. When an attempt was made to draw up a set of resolutions, Singleton appeared before the committee and demanded a resolution favoring the immediate termination of the war. The majority of the committee frowned upon the proposal. Singleton then withdrew to the Supreme Court room, held a meeting of his own, and there had his resolution adopted. The regular committee on resolutions, upon hearing of Singleton's accomplishment, sent Story of the *Chicago Times* and Dick Merrick to confer with him. A satisfactory arrange-

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<sup>98</sup>*Weekly Illinois State Journal*, Jan. 14, 1863. The quotations are taken from the paper and not from the speeches of the men.

ment was reached. The resolution of Singleton was incorporated in those presented to the convention and thereby adopted.<sup>99</sup> It resolved

that the further offensive prosecution of this war tends to subvert the constitution and the government and entails upon this nation all the disastrous consequences of misrule and anarchy. That we are in favor of peace upon the basis of the restoration of the Union, and for the accomplishment of which we propose a national convention to settle upon the terms of peace.<sup>100</sup>

A day of triumph for Singleton it appeared to be. He had wrung from the party a pledge to carry on a program for peace. Back to Quincy he could go and with no fear of denunciation from the chieftains write peace articles for the *Herald* of which he had become editor in April. There were speeches to be given too. The schedule called for twenty-one from June 26 to July 11,<sup>101</sup> and at each meeting he was to have the assistance of the Iowa orator, Henry Clay Dean, who on the eleventh had been released from jail in Keokuk.

Richardson was now a Peace Democrat. When General Singleton complained of having received ill-treatment at Springfield, Richardson replied that regardless of what occurred there the platform, as adopted, was in its entirety acceptable to himself. Furthermore, he said

I regard every man who is opposed to the resolutions as an enemy of the Democratic party. . . . I have only to say to every fellow citizen that the whole Democratic party are for peace. The road to peace is plain. Beat at the ballot-box the Republican party,—a party without wisdom enough to carry on war or make peace.<sup>102</sup>

In a speech at Quincy in September he accused the administration of continuing the war for the cause of aboli-

<sup>99</sup>*Chicago Tribune*, May 21, 1863.

<sup>100</sup>*Springfield Register*, quoted in *Quincy Herald*, June 20, 1863.

<sup>101</sup>*Quincy Whig*, June 20, 1863.

<sup>102</sup>Letter from Richardson to Singleton, printed in *Quincy Herald*, June 2, 1863.

tion. He declared that when he returned to the Senate he would introduce a measure to grant full pardon to all who were then in rebellion if they would lay down their arms. Such an act of amnesty, he believed, would quickly terminate the war.<sup>103</sup>

In the party itself a faction of War Democrats refused to abide by the Springfield resolutions. Most prominent of the leaders were John McClernand and John A. Logan. The *Chicago Times* sought to rule the two out of the party, but each continued to consider himself a member, and in the name of the party made speeches in the state. In November, McClernand presided over a meeting at the Tremont House in Chicago where it was declared that the war must not end until the rebellion was suppressed.<sup>104</sup> The difference between this sentiment and that of the group represented by Richardson and more so by Singleton threatened the further progress of the party. The recently elected Senator was having a serious trial. One faction of the party would have little to do with him and of the other he was not its skillful leader, but only a prominent member.

As the war continued, Richardson became more firm in his opposition to the policy of the President. He was a personal acquaintance of Lincoln, having first met him during the Black Hawk War. While Richardson was in Chicago prior to his departure for Charleston in 1860, he was called into the studio of the sculptor, Volk, to view the life-mask then being made of Lincoln. As Lincoln and Richardson stood there together, they, the sculptor tells us, enjoyed themselves with witty remarks and pleasant reminiscences.<sup>105</sup> But a month later Richardson was telling his neighbors in Quincy that the Republican nominee had revealed unpatriotic motives in introducing his "spot" resolutions in

<sup>103</sup>*Ibid.*, Sept. 29, 1863.

<sup>104</sup>The *Chicago Times*, Nov. 26, 1863.

<sup>105</sup>L. W. Volk, "The Lincoln Life-Mask and How it was Made," *Journal of Ill. St. Hist. Soc.*, VIII, 244.



Congress and in calling the Mexican War "unnecessary and unjust."<sup>106</sup> When after the first battle of Manassas, General Winfield Scott declared that he had been forced to fight against his own wishes, Richardson arose in the House and sought to vindicate him.<sup>107</sup> He did not blame the President directly; he considered that it was the Cabinet which should be held responsible. Lincoln, he declared, was "an honest man," but he had not "the will to stand up against the wily politicians who surround him and knead him to their purposes."<sup>108</sup> In the campaign of 1862 he centered his attacks on Lincoln. In 1864 he told his fellow Senators that the man in the White House was what the Almighty had sent "as an instrument to punish us for our sins."<sup>109</sup> The list of army officers to come from Illinois, as drawn up by the President, contained the name of Richardson as one to receive a brigadier-generalship. The home community expressed its elation by forming companies to enter the new brigade, but after months went by, Richardson calmly sent in his refusal to accept.<sup>110</sup>

The chief point of difference between Richardson and the administration arose over the question of what should be done with the negro.<sup>111</sup> At the state Democratic convention in 1862 a resolution was adopted to respect the state constitution and laws which inhibited the entrance of free negroes into the state. In a speech before the convention, Richardson strongly supported the resolution by pointing out how complex the social problem would be if these laws were not made effective. There were over 500 negroes then gathered

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<sup>106</sup>*Quincy Herald*, June 2, 1860.

<sup>107</sup>*Congressional Globe*, 37th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 246.

<sup>108</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 246.

<sup>109</sup>*Ibid.*, 38th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 3204.

<sup>110</sup>*Quincy Herald*, Mar. 17, 1862.

<sup>111</sup>Richardson also disapproved of the military arrests, the confiscation acts, and the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, but altogether those were given much less space in his speeches than was the question of the negro. See speech at Quincy, September 28, 1863, *Quincy Herald*, September 29, 1863.



about the army camp at Cairo. A few days before, a telegram from Cairo to Washington had inquired what should be done with them. Secretary of War Stanton replied that it was the duty of the commissary to issue rations to them. This, according to Richardson, was unjust. It would make the negro rely upon some agency for food and clothing and when the federal government withdrew its aid the black man would be thrown on the charity of the state.<sup>112</sup>

In a speech at Payson, Illinois, on October 22, 1862, Richardson assailed the emancipation proclamation which the President, a month before, had declared would go into effect on January 1st. The President, he asserted, had no constitutional right to issue it, inasmuch as the only power vested in the Chief Executive was that of placing laws into effect. He declared:

The President has no power by pronunciamiento to set the negroes free. I do not, however, concede that the proclamation is harmless. It is dangerous to liberty and to our institutions. It is an attempt to exercise power not conferred by the Constitution, but is in clear violation of it.<sup>113</sup>

Here again he found a grievance in the action of Stanton. On the 18th of September the Secretary of War had telegraphed to General Tuttle, then commanding at Cairo, to turn over to responsible committees the negro women and children then collected at the camp. These were then to be taken by the committees to Chicago at governmental expense. "Does Mr. Stanton stop to inquire whether it is lawful for negroes to be located in Illinois?" Richardson asked. "Oh, no," he continued, "what does he care? His merest clerk disregards and overrides the Consitution and the law. The negro must be cared for, and what is the Constitution and law where they are in question?"<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>112</sup>*Quincy Herald*, Sept. 15, 1862.

<sup>113</sup>*Ibid.*, Oct. 24, 1862.

<sup>114</sup>*Ibid.*, Oct. 24, 1862.

If the administration insisted upon setting the negro free, he believed that that freedom should not be paid for out of the public treasury. The expense would be more than the public treasury could endure. Furthermore, he did not favor colonization of the emancipated negroes, believing that the cost of transporting, clothing, and feeding them would be prohibitive. When the Freedman's Bureau Bill came before the Senate, Richardson firmly opposed it. In the discussion over it the question arose as to whether the negro should be enrolled in the Union armies and sent to the front. Richardson declared that the abolitionists wished to send white soldiers into battle and leave the negro safely at home. Sumner interrupted to say that it was his own wish for the negro to go to the front, whereupon the Senator from Illinois retorted that the Senator from Massachusetts would be the proper one to lead them.<sup>115</sup> Equally severe was Richardson's opposition to the idea of giving the franchise to the negro. The race which emerged from the darkness of Africa and lived for generations in the bonds of slavery, had, according to his opinion, no capacity for self-government.

The war should not be waged to stamp out slavery, but only to crush the rebellion, or rather "to preserve the Constitution as it is and the Union as it was."<sup>116</sup> The powers of the President were limited and did not include that of issuing a proclamation to emancipate the slaves. The negro should be refused admission to the state, he should not be set free, he should not be colonized in a separate land, he should be merely let alone. Maintaining these views, Richardson until the assassination of Lincoln continued as an opponent of the administration. He had supported the war until the Springfield convention of 1863 and then as a true member of his party became imbued with the sentiment for

<sup>115</sup>*Congressional Globe*, 38th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 2801.

<sup>116</sup>This expression was made frequently in the speeches of Richardson. He considered it as a slogan which not only his party, but all people should at that time adopt.

peace. Deep love for the Union was yet and forever in his heart. The war should not end until the continuance of that Union would be guaranteed, and this he believed could be achieved when the North offered to compromise with the South on the question of slavery.

The adjournment of Congress in March, 1865, ended the term of Richardson in the Senate and he entered the last phase of his career. A Republican legislature had voted that his successor should be Governor Yates. For the new Senator it was to be his highest position of honor. The retiring Senator returned to Quincy and there spent the remaining ten years, his death occurring December 27, 1875. It was a decade of lonesomeness, for the one who had been his devoted companion in marriage had passed away in 1864. A new era of politics was beginning and the politician of an earlier age did not choose to re-enter and strive for leadership. Once thereafter he was nominated for Congress, but he did not make the race. In 1868, however, he was sent to the national convention where he cast the vote of the Illinois delegation for Hendricks. His interest thereafter was confined to local affairs. For a short time he was editor of the *Herald*. His last political office which he held at the time of his death was that of county supervisor. He had once come near to the heights and then in the later years when age stole upon his body and only reminiscences stirred his mind, he drifted back to rest in the humbleness from which his career had sprung.

## CHAPTER IV

## CONCLUSION

In reviewing the political career of a prominent person, one's interest is directed toward visualizing how that person adapted himself to the age in which he lived. If that age

called for master intellects to provide for the general welfare, and that person was able and willing to give and did give service which surpassed that of his contemporaries, history will accord to him the loftiest esteem which human recognition will warrant. If, however, he did not present the most valuable service which the age received, either because of the lack of natural ability or because of unwillingness, then history must place the names of others above his own.

The subject of this particular study gave his service in an epoch which encompassed the lives of many prominent men. The state wherein he lived provided the arena in which many of these leaders gained their experience. Consequently, the rise of William A. Richardson had to be made either along with or in competition with other ambitious spirits and active minds.

Although Stephen A. Douglas was younger by two years than Richardson, his entrance into politics came slightly earlier and his rise to positions of higher honor became more rapid. Richardson, living near him and adhering to the same political beliefs, did not become a contender for these positions, but followed in the path which Douglas had opened. Douglas was a statesman with ideas which he hoped to form into customs or laws and thus advance public, party, and personal interests. He needed an assistant, a manager, to carry on his program in his home state. The position, when granted to Richardson, came to one who was naturally adapted to it. Richardson was not endowed with the faculty for proposing significant ideas. He was, however, a faithful, diligent worker, one who would execute the plans that had originated in the mind of another. On the platform, in the age when stump-speaking was common and practical, he could, in his unpolished manner, speak with force and vigor, and bring the crowds to support the attitude of his party. As the arrangement developed, Douglas provided the ideas and leadership, and Rich-



ardson, along with his colleagues, did much of the work in the field. When Douglas entered the national arena, Richardson followed close behind. In Congress, the united effort of the two, under the direction of the former, made the Kansas-Nebraska Bill a law. In the national conventions the work of Richardson was directed toward the interest of his chief, and finally resulted in the nomination of Douglas. Richardson, therefore, developed as a prominent party worker, and not as an individual party leader. His hope for personal success naturally had to be rooted in the hope for the party's success, or at least the advancement of Douglas. The victory of the Republicans in 1860 did not necessarily indicate that Richardson's political future was imperiled, for the nominee of the Northern Democracy held yet a high place in public estimation. It was the separation from Douglas, brought on by death, which decreed the decline of Richardson's career.

The enactment of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill in 1854 brought him as near to the heights in politics as he was ever to go. The popular reaction to the law prompted a realignment of party affiliations which was to work hardship on both Douglas and Richardson. The latter's defeat in 1855 for the Speakership was an affront more to the party than to the nominee, but in the following year when the election in his home state gave a victory to the national ticket and presented defeat to himself, it was obvious that he was declining in popularity. In the years that followed he continued on this decline and let the scope of his constituency be narrowed to the area near his home. Particularly was this true during the period of the war. He began with an attitude similar to that of Douglas when the war opened, and then continued in Congress and on the platform until 1863 as a Unionist and a War Democrat. His appointment to the Senate theoretically elevated him to a higher position in the party in Illinois, and yet, as he entered on his



duties, he did not grasp the reins that were offered him. It is apparent that the party's expression for peace at the convention of June 17, 1863, did not come from himself, but from another. Inasmuch as the party had turned in this direction Richardson, thereupon, chose the easiest course and supported the platform as adopted. Nevertheless, whereas the party demanded peace, Richardson only plead for it. The party would take some definite steps to achieve it, but Richardson contented himself with making a few vigorous speeches in opposition to the government. He was hesitant to go to the extreme, and in refraining from doing so, he practically renounced the responsibilities of leadership.

When he stepped from the Senate in 1865 Richardson was at the age of only fifty-four. The number of years were insignificant. Of more importance was the fact that he was aged and worn politically and tired by the storms that had swept the field previous to and during the war. In the period of reconstruction when genuine public service was much in need, he experienced his least fruitful years. This might be attributed partly to the fact that his work up to that time had developed him into a party manager and not into a public servant. While in Congress he chose to consider himself first a member of a political organization whose principles he would uphold, and secondly an official of the government. Occasionally he avowed that he would support certain measures because of their moral value, yet he refrained from taking an active part in securing their adoption. One exception to this might be found in his experience as governor of Nebraska. During his term he devoted his attention to the problems of the territory and directed the good work that was then accomplished. Yet, the term itself was of short duration and ended when the governor decided that his primary duty was to return and work for the good of Douglas and his faction of the party.

In his devotion to another, Richardson did not attain personal success comparable to that of some of his contemporaries. The lack of natural ability equal to that of the man he followed made it certain that he could never reveal the best qualities of leadership. He did not always win, nor always lose; he merely rose, gave his best, and then prematurely declined.

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# A PIONEER IN LEE COUNTY, ILLINOIS

## The Autobiography of Charles Francis Ingals

*Edited by*

LYDIA COLBY

Often have members of our family requested from my pen a record of facts which I know to have occurred, from my own personal observation, especially that which came to my knowledge in the West for more than three score years past.

Autobiography, I am aware, subjects any writer to the charge of egotism. Age, and the fact that the manuscript only, will be seen, somewhat breaks the crust of such possible criticism. It is impossible to escape the "ego" in recording what one has personally seen or known. Again, facts, like wine, largely improve with age. What I today may say or do, may, one hundred years hence, strike the reader with most lively interest.

I make no claim to style, and only insist on facts as written.<sup>1</sup>

### FIRST YEARS IN ILLINOIS

Abington, Windham County, Connecticut, in the north-

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<sup>1</sup>Mr. Ingals wrote this autobiography in 1897, while residing in Chicago. The name Ingalls was spelled with but one "l" by this branch of the family, who insisted that it was a waste of time to write two l's for a lifetime, when one would do. The original spelling was with two l's. Turning this autobiography from a private record to a public one is done because much that Mr. Ingals has written is a history of Lee County, and is of interest to every Illinois citizen. Very personal memories have been omitted.

eastern part of the state, is my native town.<sup>2</sup> Windham, Brooklyn, Killingly, Woodstock and Ashford are adjoining towns, the latter having been the home of General Lyon, who, early in the War of the Rebellion, was killed in the battle at Wilson's Creek, Missouri.

Abington was cut off from the town of Pomfret so its good people could be situated near their own church. Walter Lyon preached forty consecutive years in the old church across the road from the Ingalls House, and all that time trod the same foot path from his door to his pulpit. The deference paid the Protestant clergy at that early day was similar to that shown the Catholic priest now. Ours was the fourth generation living upon the farm where we were all born. There were nine children as follows: Mary Stevens, Henry Laurens, Lucy, Lydia, Deborah, Edmund, Charles Francis, George Addison, and Ephraim. Dr. Ephraim and Charles Francis, alone, are now among the living (1897).

Our mother at fifty years of age, died April 25, 1829. This was our first family bereavement. Mother was attacked with apoplexy at the breakfast table, and asked me for the vinegar cruet, a then common remedy for headache. She was soon laid upon the bed, unconscious, and survived only eight hours. This first bereavement was terrible beyond anything I ever felt. Eating or sleeping was impossible. It was my first, and seemingly, last great affliction.

The coming fall I was sent to Cavendish, Vermont, where I lived with my brother-in-law, Addison Fletcher. There

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<sup>2</sup>James Ingalls and wife, Mary Stevens, and his widowed mother, Hannah Abbott Ingalls, went from Andover, Massachusetts, to Abington, Connecticut, in 1746, and built their home directly across the road from the Abington Colony church. There they ran an inn. The original old house was standing in 1929, though not occupied, a new house having been built by Ephraim Ingalls II a few years before his wife's death in 1829. In 1834, the place was sold by his heirs to Stephen Smith, and is now the property of Col. Fred Smith of Chicago. Hannah Abbott Ingalls is buried on a hill up the road from the house, but the next three generations lie in the cemetery directly back of the Ingalls Inn.

I stayed for five years, until I came to Illinois with Henry, Edmund, Lydia and Deborah, in 1834.

On February 12, 1831, Father died, aged sixty-three years. It was then decided to sell the old farm, and all of us children, except Mary (Fletcher) and Lucy (Storrs) who were married and settled in the East, moved and permanently settled in the new West.

Our Connecticut farm of some 200 acres was one of the best in town, and yet after the improvements of four generations, it sold for less than \$4,000. We boys had annually only two days for play. Study or work was our employment for the balance of the year. A poor student under such favorable conditions could hardly fail to acquire industry and economical habits.

Uncle Edmund Ingalls of Cavendish, Vermont, died at eighty, and was as old as any of the family lived to be. Sister Mary Fletcher died of heart disease in her native town, Cavendish; Henry L. died at North Branch, Chisago County, Minnesota; Lucy Storrs at Dedham, Massachusetts; Lydia (Mrs. Jonathan Colby), at Petersburg, Menard County, Illinois; Deborah (Mrs. R. F. Adams), at Palestine Grove, Lee County, Illinois; Edmund at Chandlerville, Illinois; George Addison at Oak Park, Illinois. Dr. Ephraim and myself alone are left. Fortunately none of the family suffered or died of chronic or painful ailments.

After our father's death, brother Henry and Marcus Chandler, with their families and with brother George Addison, in 1832, just after the Black Hawk War, rigged each a two-horse team and drove to Illinois. They settled on the Sangamon River bottom, at what is now Chandlerville, Cass County. The soil was very deep and fever and ague was universal. In after years the lakes and little bayous became dry and general health prevailed.

The Sangamon River empties into the Illinois some four miles above Beardstown, fifteen miles from Chandlerville.

Henry opened up a little farm at Chandlerville, then in the spring of 1834 he returned to New England to settle up our father's estate. Lydia, Deborah, Edmund and myself returned with him to Illinois via Albany, Hartford, Buffalo, Detroit, and thence by land to our destination on the Sangamon bottom. Lydia, Edmund and Deborah came from Detroit in a one-horse wagon, but Henry and I came sometimes walking, sometimes riding our way in the most comfortable, economical way possible.

At Michigan City, Edmund and the sisters stopped to recruit the horse, while Henry and I went on to Chicago, thirty-five miles, on foot. Our trunk, containing \$1,000 in silver, we put upon a wagon that was passing and paid its freight to the city, which then contained only from 1,000 to 1,500 inhabitants. From Chicago Henry took the money by stage, and to save stage fare, I walked ahead twelve miles and got aboard as the stage came up. I remember the Chicago prairie was then a continual scene of sloughs and mud holes. We continued our journey through to Ottawa at the mouth of the Fox River. From there to Hennepin (thirty miles) we went in a skiff owned by George Walker. Having reached the head of steamboat navigation, we took passage down the Illinois River to Beardstown, fifteen miles south of Henry's farm and family. Edmund, Lydia and Deborah came quietly along with the one-horse rig, June 3, 1834.

Edmund and I bound wheat after the cradles awhile at \$1.00 per day. I had taught some few schools in New England satisfactorily, and so thought to repeat the experience thus gained, in Illinois. But I found the settlements too thin, and the stupidity of the scattered inhabitants too thick for profitable employment in that direction. We boys then decided to enter and fence a forty acre tract of bottom land. I rode to Springfield and entered the forty accordingly and we cut considerable fencing timber.



During the fall of 1834, Captain (Grosvenor) Storrs, a brother-in-law, and Uncle Roswell Goodell with their families arrived in our neighborhood, as settlers from Abington. During the fall months of 1834, Captain Storrs and myself rode north 120 miles and located excellent claims in Frakers Grove, ten miles south of Kewanee, Henry County. The winter of 1834-35 was excessively cold, and by the spring of 1835, Captain Storrs, a most homesick man, pulled himself together and returned with his family to Connecticut. Edmund suddenly died in the spring of 1835 of inflammatory rheumatism, before I could reach his bedside, after I learned that he was sick.

Now to attack that far-away farming scheme at Frakers Grove alone, required more money and experience than I possessed. [Note: C. F. Ingals was but 18 years old at the time.] Fifty years later, I rode with Captain Sullivan Howard to that identical spot ten miles south of Kewanee. A Mr. Grant, relative of Gen. U. S. Grant, owned the farm that Captain Storrs and I located and was offering it for sale at \$25,000. I next located a school at Beardstown, fifteen miles south of the Sanagmon bottom and taught four terms in one small brick school house. Uncle Goodell and family remained at Beardstown during the summer of 1835 and Hon. R. E. Goodell of subsequent fame, was one of my pupils.

By this time I had become disgusted with fever and ague and all its malarial and persistent cranks. Uncle Goodell had located a small farm a few miles below Ottawa, near Buffalo Rock on the Illinois River. As he went up the river with horse team and stock to prepare for his coming family, I concluded to take my saddle horse and go with him. We had a good trip and landed comfortably on the spot he chose for his family home. Later, he himself and some of his family died here.



From Buffalo Rock I climbed the steep bluff and passed the bare prairie to Troy Grove, Lost Grove, Lamoille or Bureau Creek. Ten miles north of Lamoille I located and lived fifty long years. Arlington, on the C. B. and Q. Railway, then called Lost Grove, at that time had not one single inhabitant, but now contains, I think, some 2,000 souls. Monday morning I went north with John Dexter, a Canadian. A more genial, rollicking companion of a stranger, one does not often meet. John was secretary for the settlement. Upon his chart he entered the names of all legitimate claimants for such tracts of land as they chose to select. I located eighty acres of timber and about a half-section of prairie. I then chopped a few days to show strangers that the land was occupied, then saddled my horse and returned to the Sangamon bottom.

There I got up an outfit to go to work. It consisted of three yoke of oxen, a second-hand ox-wagon, two milch cows, one young saddle horse and two wolf dogs less than half grown. Addison spoke of going with me. Henry consented and I was glad enough of his company and of our change to more healthy quarters.

We got along well traveling and were obliged to sleep out on the prairie but one night, where we had mired down. One cow hid her calf that night. What were we to do? We had no dog that would bark, so we chased the mother, and when winding the camp she looked straight and called, there was the calf. We continued our journey northwest and our new home was reached in good time after crossing a small stream at Troy Grove, and another at Lamoille, then Bureau Creek. Our destination was as wild and untouched, apparently, as when it first came from the hand of the Creator. As we approached the neighborhood of my half-century resting place, Addison anxiously from time to time asked, "Is it here? Francis, is this the spot where we are to settle?" I put him off until we drove under the

shade of some young black oaks, then I said, "We will drop the ox yokes right here."

We walked four miles to the cabin of my former friend, John Dexter, the Canadian, and spent the night. The next day we built and commenced housekeeping in good shape. For rafters, the shanty had young trees bent down and covered with grass. The bed and provisions were safely placed underneath and a more healthy, happy tenement could hardly be found. A small handy pen for the calves completed our first day's work.

Amboy, Sublette and Lee Centre were not thought of until eighteen years later. Two weeks after building our first shelter our rough log cabin was ready for occupancy. Thirteen men and boys helped raise the logs, and my gratuitous help comprised all the men and rugged boys inside of four miles distance. Every neighbor felt under obligation to help a new neighbor "raise" whether invited or not. I asked a prominent neighbor, by no means a teetotaler, whether at the raising I had better include whiskey on the entertainment bill of fare. He answered, "Some do, but I advise you not to do it." This man was later sent to the penitentiary, but I shook his hand when he came out, and while I live I shall not forget his wholesome advice given to a boy just starting in life among strangers. The logs for our house were cut fourteen and fifteen feet. My family lived in this house twelve years.

I was full of life then, buoyant and anticipating a long, brilliant future. No man in his palace was ever more happy or better able to gratify his every wish with money, than I in my simple home in the wilderness, with few wishes. Sister Lydia in the meantime had gone to Mr. Conover's, living some twenty miles from Sangamon bottom, to instruct Mrs. Conover in the Yankee method of making cheese.

Sister Deborah had agreed to keep house for me and had come by boat as far as Uncle Goodell's at Buffalo Rock. I went for her as soon as possible, and we came most comfortably in a primitive wagon, safely and surely drawn by a number one yoke of oxen. I never saw a happier woman than Deborah when she stepped into our unfloored log house. We had squatted and no one could come between us and our government. I was rich with determination to improve this, my first real estate. The first season we raised only a crop of English turnips, but never since were turnips more appreciated, or poorer. Addison and I dug potatoes and obtained fifty bushels of number one "Pink Eyes" as our pay for the work. It seemed our culinary salvation. We had only to raise a door in the cabin floor and there were the roots ready for baking or boiling. We dressed one of the cattle and found ourselves in good condition for winter with an occasional venison steak.

I owned a rifle which we had bought at Buffalo on the way West. One very cold morning I had it loaded with a wet patch which froze in the barrel. An uncommonly fine buck came in point blank range. When I fired, the gun was torn in pieces. The buck raised his tail, whistled and was off. I was mad, but what could a body do?

I will now speak of a small matter, yet it was in that early day as trying an experience as I ever had. My stock was eight head of cows and oxen, and seemingly my only dependence. They ran off towards their native and early home. Their memory and mentality seemed impossible for such brutes. When the loss was discovered, they were gone beyond local discovery. I at once said, "They are seeking Sangamon Bottom and its stalks and cornfields of their calfhood. The snow and frost has started them." I started on foot to follow them. My theory was that they would strike the Illinois River and being unable to cross, they would remain on the west side of the river among some



old well-to-do settlements. Instead of that they struck a trail through the snow, leading them to a settlement on Spoon River, where they stopped, apparently discouraged. I walked on, advertising everywhere possible, and learning nothing. At Sangamon Bottom I bought other steers, hoping to get along, as I had now almost given up my unsuccessful search for my lost stock. I started home with my newly bought cattle, when lo, the prairie became so iced over, I was compelled to leave them until next summer. I again started home and afoot and alone and somewhat fainthearted, you may imagine. At Hennepin, I thought that for the last time I would visit the court house and examine stray stock news, not expecting to find any good news. I found my cattle had gone far west across the prairie which I had crossed on foot. The snow had turned to fine frozen hail. I froze my feet, for rubber-felt boots were a luxury not to be had in that day. My only chance to aid circulation was to lie on my back and thump my boots together. My toes were thus only partly frozen.

I found the cattle in the lot of an Irishman who required me to bring proof that I owned them. I said, "You insist on such conditions, and I assure you I shall prosecute to the extent of the estray law, your violation of it by your failure to advertise after taking up stock as it plainly requires. You can end the controversy by delivering me the stock and taking this \$20 bill." He accepted the money and I reached our cabin at midnight. Deborah and Addison got up and were glad. Having heard nothing from me for six weeks, they supposed me dead.

I have often thought that serious difficulties sometimes aid one in after life to bridge over smaller ones that now and then are likely to appear. Coyotes or prairie wolves have always preyed upon poultry and young pigs and sheep. The two young dogs that I took from Sangamon Bottom grew up to become good wolf hunters. They caught thir-

teen in all. Bravo was poorly named. He was a capital runner, but a coward when it came to hard fighting. Caesar was appropriately named and readily seized the game the instant he came up. Bravo would catch the wolf and Caesar immediately upon coming up, would grab its throat. Bravo worked at the other end, as far from its teeth as possible. These dogs caught an occasional deer and finally lived for awhile among wild hogs for food. While there, one of the dogs got shot. Finally the pack of wolf dogs was broken up to our keen regret, leaving only traps and poison as our remedies for wolves.

During the summer of 1837, Brother Henry and family went East and came by my cabin, bringing me a small lot of horned cattle. I took Henry and family by wagon to the city of Monroe on Lake Erie and made a collection of some money due me there. As I returned home, I remember that oats cost me \$2.50 per bushel at the Michigan hotels. At that time I was poorly impressed with Michigan as compared with Illinois. Today I am surprised at her most wonderful progress and wealth. She did grandly during our Southern Rebellion. Her schools and colleges are much to her credit. Michigan was largely settled from the East, while Illinois settlers came largely from the South. The southern people were among the best in blood, but not up to the East in schools and education.

Brother Ephraim, now a professor in Rush Medical College, was then but fourteen years old. He came back with Henry to Sangamon Bottom. Addison was opening a farm on the prairie adjoining mine and boarded at our cabin.

A young doctor, carrying an umbrella, came over the hill and down to our cabin during the summer of 1837. He proved to be an old acquaintance from Cavendish, Vermont, Richard F. Adams. Unfortunately for me, acquaintance ripened into a matrimonial arrangement. Deborah was a splendid cook and housekeeper, and a most worthy moth-



erly sister to me. She took great interest in our family successes in this new country. Once she said to me, "Francis, if you are going to be a farmer, I hope you will be a good one." Learning that Deborah and Dr. Adams were to marry and go away in the season of 1838 and 1839, I left the farm in their care and returned October 12 from New England with Sarah Hawkins Ingals as my bride. I went via the Illinois River to St. Louis, by the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers to Pittsburgh and then across Pennsylvania by stage, railroad and boat until I reached New York. My trunk was stolen by thieves, who robbed the baggage rack of the stage in storm and darkness, as we crossed the mountains. I met Miss Hawkins in Brooklyn and we made our plans for the future immediately. We walked across the city to North River, took boat to Albany, and from thence by stage across the mountains to Reading, Vermont, the farm home of John Hawkins, Sarah's father. There she got ready to marry and two months later Elder Freeman said the ceremony at 3 o'clock, September 6, 1838. After the usual amount of tears, handshakings and goodbyes, and so forth, the bride was handed into a light spring-seated one-horse wagon and our thirty day 1,000 mile trip home was begun. The journey was delayed only six days, and those were passed with friends at La Porte, Indiana. Our journey home was delightful. The roads and months of September and October were such as only the West can furnish. The scene of our arrival home is continually before me, even now. Everything was economical, free and easy. The carriage was unassuming, but comfortable. Prairie grass asphalt decorated the street; and the dwelling for appropriate fitness, was nowhere to be excelled.

I neglected to tell of an incident as we went from Brooklyn to Vermont, when I was badly frightened. As we were going down the Green Mountains, the stage driver became frightened, threw down the lines, and jumped into the street.

It seemed likely a tragedy was on, but the team left the road, struck a stump, overturned the stage, and threw the passengers into a bog of mud and water. All climbed out of the door overhead. Nobody was hurt, but my knees knocked together for the first and last time.

### LEE COUNTY LAW

Our system of jurisprudence in Lee County in the early days was original and adapted to a new, scattering community. My friend Dexter, the Canadian, was made justice of the peace. His first case was assault and battery. The court was called and the contestants duly appeared for trial. The court patiently listened to the testimony of both the plaintiff and the defendant, then fined each \$3.00, upon the supposition that both were equally to blame.

The next higher and final and supreme court, was that of the popular will, called the Annual Grove Meeting. The lower bench consisted of three judges chosen by the people. Parties at variance could advise this bench of their contention, and a day would be set for trial. After hearing testimony of both plaintiff and defendant, the judges announced the decision of the court and collected one dollar each for their daily fee. Now if an appeal was desired, either party could, at the Annual Grove Meeting, appeal to the whole people, whose verdict would be absolutely final. Our courts stood high in popular estimation, for brevity, economy and justice.

One department of law was omitted, nor was it ever to my recollection needed, save once. We had the legislative and judicial, but no executive branch of government. We

had no sheriff. In one case, in a timber suit, the defendant refused to pay the verdict of last resort, viz., the popular will at the Annual Grove Meeting. The emergency was met without delay, by the neighborhood meeting with axes on a given day, upon a fine lot of timber belonging to the refractory citizen. A dozen or so men commenced chopping, four at each tree, and of course the timber came down rapidly. The best part of forty acres came down before the owner concluded to abide by the popular verdict. This timber was actually on government land, and the fine was \$8.00 for each tree cut, yet the government never prosecuted, so far as I know, those early suffering settlers. The fallen timber in each case, became the property of the trespasser. Therefore all we had to do, was to donate to the successful party all the timber we cut down. The sheriff was not needed again.

## LAND TITLES

I have stated that in June, 1836, our claim was made by squatting on the land of our government. It was then only surveyed into townships. Fortunately Uncle Sam gave us eight years to pay for it. When in the summer of 1844, it was advertised and sold, I had saved up enough to buy nearly four hundred acres, including the timber. Our land was not surveyed into sections until some years after it was settled. At the government sale of 1844, each settler had his claim registered and a general agent was employed to bid off legal tracts as endorsed by universal consent. A trust was formed to forcibly resist any by-bidding. One stranger tried it. He was immediately raised from the ground, passed

over the heads of the crowd, and placed under guard by a large tree, where he was protected from further injury. That ended by-bidding.

After the public sale of our claims to their respective occupants, one man, I remember, was unable to pay for his claim at the sale, and an outsider entered it at the government land office. The news spread like wild fire among the settlers, each one considering it a personal outrage toward one who had borne the heat and burden of a new settlement. As one man some forty citizens duly armed and equipped, organized and marched for the offender at Dixon. Mr. B——, the plaintiff, was bartender at the Nachusa Hotel. The offended party halted on the prairie, a mile or two from town, and detailed a few resolute, strong men to bring the offender in a wagon. This detail walked up to the bar, the very picture of innocence, and seized Mr. B. by the collar, hastened him into the wagon, and rapidly drove back to the offended crowd. A sheriff followed them with a gun and threatened to use it, but desisted as he witnessed a heavy majority, even better armed than himself. Mr. B. of course deeded the rightful owner his land. The title given by Mr. B. most likely was illegal, as it was given under duress and not as he chose. The occupant was duly protected by his neighbors, until he was by occupancy, legally the legitimate possessor. This case I name, to show that legislative enactment often is of less force than popular will. This case and the one where popular opinion enforced a verdict by cutting the forty acres of trees, are the only two cases where the people took government in their own hands in Lee County, so far as I know. Harmony almost universally prevailed, and popular opinion there, as I later found it in California, was in my opinion, more just, more economical, and much more expeditious than is usually gained in the courts.



BANDITS OF THE PRAIRIES

Bandits of the prairies, in all new settlements, are liable to become a dangerous nuisance, and their presence was sooner or later felt over the newly settled prairies of the West. Our settlement was no exception to this general fact. These miscreants had a line of operations extending from Texas through the Indian Territory, Missouri, and the corner of Iowa and Illinois. The route of this gang extended through Lee County and directly through our settlement and by my cabin. Members of the gang living among us, and often supposed to be worthy, first class citizens, harbored, lodged and fed these traveling cut-throat thieves and scoundrels. Those committing overt acts of crime, traveled mostly at night and were unknown among us, if even they were ever seen. The chances of theft were accurately described to them by our good neighbor rascals and the traveling expert sinners did the rest. The whole of the stockholder gang then divided the booty.

The gang operated mainly among people who were neither rich nor poor. If the settlements were poor there was not much to steal, if rich, detection and punishment were likely to be dealt out to them. Dr. R. F. Adams had a valuable horse stolen. Its track was followed twenty-five miles south to Princeton, Bureau County. A stream ran through a deep unfrequented canyon in the neighborhood. The horse slipped its bridle in this canyon and came out to its owner who was searching for it.

George Haskell, a merchant of Inlet Grove, had his little trunk with its cash contents taken from under his bed one dark stormy night. It was broken open at a neighboring blacksmith shop and of course, the money taken. Nobody could explain the happenings, and yet four of our best appearing citizens were the main transgressors. Proverbi-

ally, "Murder will out." The same may be said of all other transgressions.

A quantity of merchandise had been stolen in an adjoining county. Samples of the stolen goods betrayed cloths of the same in the tailor shop of Thomas Brown at Inlet Grove. Four of our supposed honest neighbors had engaged garments made by Mr. Brown, and had furnished material corresponding with the samples carried by the two gentlemen who were in pursuit of the thieves. The magistrate confided the fact to a few of us until the papers of arrest were ready, and the four gentlemen were simultaneously arrested by the sheriff and taken to prison. The four were taken before two of our magistrates, and were ordered to be delivered to the sheriff of LaSalle County where the goods had been stolen. By counsel, the verdict was declared to be illegal, and resistance was advised. The people then came forward in rage. We took the ground that two judges had decided the law, and they were the best and only civil court just then at hand, so the people volunteered what necessary aid the sheriff might need to see the verdict executed. The prisoners were loaded into the LaSalle County conveyance, and the play up to that point was complete. After trial and conviction, I think three were allowed bail for appearance at the circuit court. The fourth one went to jail for want of bail bonds. The fourth man in jail threatened to turn states evidence, if his richer confederates did not bail him out. He was duly encouraged to turn states evidence and he did. Some of the guilty gang were allowed to visit the jail and sleep there so they would converse and acknowledge the facts the people wanted the jury to know. Before the final trial came, testimony sufficiently fatal was gained. Three of the prisoners went to states prison and he who testified against the gang disappeared from among us to this day. We watched his house with rifles, as citizens, in his and our own defence. I think he might have been spir-

ited away, and his valuable testimony lost, had we not given him needy protection.

Three of the gang, early settlers and owning the best of the farms in the county, went to prison and two never came back. I suppose they died there, disgraced in the estimation of all good men. The splendid farms they left never amounted to any family good. Either of them well managed, should, today, show an estate of many thousand dollars.

I will mention one other case of similar crime as the last and only murder is added to this contamination.

On the old turnpike, leading to Galena and crossing Rock River at Dixon, an old storm-beaten tavern stood, south of Inlet Creek and eight miles below Amboy. It was a forsaken, swampy place where scarcely anybody went except traveling strangers. A suspicious landlord kept the house and a better locality could hardly be found for one who prized concealment. It was learned that a servant girl, some twelve or fifteen years old had disappeared quite suddenly. None of the family pretended to know where she was. It was imagined by some of the people that this house servant had gained testimony which the landlord wished to conceal by taking her life. The neighborhood took fire and a vigilant search was made up and down the creek until at length the swollen body of the girl was found. The landlord was then arrested on suspicion and in due time his case was brought before the grand jury. His case increased suspicion, already excited against him, yet nothing was proved which seemed sufficient to support an indictment. The jury seemed in a dazed state of judgment as to what should be done. I sat beside Rev. O. F. Ayres, brother-in-law of Dr. Luke Hitchcock. I whispered to him, "Why not shut the rascal up on suspicion? I think the public can board him cheaper in confinement than when he runs at large." The idea was quickly endorsed and the states attorney made out

## CHARLES FRANCIS INGALS

the papers. Before the day of trial, this supposed murderer had committed suicide. His name was C——. A worthy young man in C's neighborhood suddenly died. He was supposed to have been poisoned to prevent damaging testimony against C. Another man named Sam ——, was supposed to know of the murder and possibly was a tool of C. Sam lived on the prairie above what is now Amboy. Sam saw the officers coming, slipped back into a field of high corn, and shot himself. Thus four lives were lost.

Lee County was organized about 1840. At twenty years of age, I was elected one of its three first county commissioners, by whom county affairs were managed at that time. I drew a three years' term of office and during those years the present court house was built at about \$10,000 cost. The log jail costing \$1,800 was also built. The walls of the latter were three feet thick, consisting of white and burr oak timber, hewed twelve inches square, two standing upright and one lying horizontally between. This prison was confessedly inartistic and economical, but I think prisoners confined therein never entertained the idea of digging or cutting their way out. Since then a more artistic and expensive prison has been built, but inmates thereof often escape. Dixon is today a prosperous growing city, yet since 1880, I have scarcely had occasion to go there.

## CALIFORNIA GOLD FEVER

By the spring of 1850 the California gold excitement had become immense. Farm products were low and markets distant, so that little progress could be made in profitable farming.



Under such conditions fifteen or so of us neighbors concluded to cross the plains together. Light two-horse wagons were ordered from Chicago, and heavy wagons loaded with feed and provisions were drawn along by extra horses and abandoned as fast as they were empty. I waited one day after the wagons had started and followed them on horseback. My son Charles H. was then four years old, Fletcher was two, and Sarah Deborah, three weeks old. I got away in fairly good spirits. How I did it, to this day remains a mystery. I could not do it again, especially with a four-year old boy climbing the fence and crying at the height of his voice, "I don't want you to go to Californy." It was March 28, 1850, that my span of bay horses passed out the farm gate for the last time. I felt a foolish sadness at the time. They did not. At Burlington, Iowa, our train crossed the Mississippi and continued on through Iowa and Missouri to St. Joseph on the Missouri River. Roswell Streeter died out of our company in Iowa. He fell into a waterhole in Burlington and caught a severe cold. He was a very large, fleshy man and pneumonia in those wet March days was dangerous for one of his build, especially living in tents. We left him comfortable as possible at a settler's cabin, from which he was carried to his grave.

At St. Joseph, we met two of our boys coming via St. Louis with supplies for our trip. Crossing the Missouri, we entered on the 2,000 mile desert trip, uninhabited except here and there a trading post. Since then marvelous cities have grown up in that wilderness that excite our astonishment and admiration. Emigration and railroads have done it.

We were too early to see the immense herds of buffalo that then lived in the desert. Like birds this animal drifts north and south as the seasons change. We were too early for their arrival north and saw scarcely fifty during all our

overland trip. I was astonished to find a well trod highway similar to those in our older settlements.

Sixteen miles beyond Little Blue River, we struck the Platte near Fort Kearney. An Indian reservation was near and most of the tribe at home. Fort Laramie on the south bank of the Platte was the next civilized prospect. From there we sent our first letters home from the wilderness. The U. S. Infantry were on parade as we came up. I think whiter gloves and brighter muskets, I never saw than those looked to be in that far-off wilderness. Fifty miles above the forks, we waded the South Platte. At eighteen miles to Ash Hollow on the North Branch we met 300 friendly Sioux Indians with a white interpreter. We continued up the right bank of the North Platte and crossed by the only established ferry of the plains that we experienced.

Barring the theft of one horse, the Indians made us no trouble. No game, save a few antelope, were killed. We hunted buffalo but once, and then we waded one branch of the Platte to do so. Buffalo vitals lie low in the brisket, yet we fired as at deer, at the center of the chest. Of course our shots flew too high for fatal effect. We crossed, before reaching the mountains of California, three deserts aggregating 130 miles, all of which had no supply of grass and water. We had brought along large tin cans for water in view of this known emergency. With pocket knives we cut bundles of coarse grass, so that our animals did not materially suffer. The head of Humbolt River, we ferried with boats prepared by making our wagon boxes tight and swam the horses across. Hundreds of miles we followed that miserable stream to its sink, where it disappeared to—nobody knows where. Possibly it circulates among the internal water veins of earth, from whence unfailing artesian water is obtained. Afterward I passed by rail this same dismal 300 mile stretch and it had then scarcely a scratch of im-

provement. July 4, 1850, we celebrated by lying in the shade of the tents until 3 P. M., when we took the evening and night to cross the desert. The roads were bare and like city asphalt. It struck me that this space of earth could only have the design of holding its body together. Sterile, worthless, and monotonous as this vast space seemed to be, it now composes some six states of considerable importance. Cholera to a considerable degree had prevailed the year before among the emigrants and grass along the trail showed the end of many a 49er's travels. Fifty miles east of South Pass in the Rocky Mountains, near Devil's Gate, we passed Independence Rock and crossed Sweet Water River, made sweet by alkali. Much stock was injured and in many cases killed by drinking alkali water along these poisonous districts. I saw the skeletons of one prairie team that seemed to have fallen in their tracks.

One company of our train had a poor outfit and could not keep up with the better and younger travelers. They fell back with a slower train and then got along slowly and comfortably.

At one place I remember, the alkali had formed on a small lake like ice, some two or three inches thick. Latterly, as the country becomes settled, I have heard but little of this alkali poison.

From the sink of the Humbolt to the summit of the Sierras is 211 miles. We struck the Turkey River at the foot of the mountains, but it was too full for crossing. So as best we could, we followed the river bank and were sometimes obliged to make our way along the mountain side. Finally we reached the upper crossing, waded over, and ascended to the mountain top. After passing the mountain summit, we reached the descent where the trees were deeply cut by ropes, which had been used to let wagons down the steep descent where horses could not manage. Once in the valley west of the mountain, we continued smoothly and



comfortably along a good road and came out into Bear Valley.

At this point we found a fat steer, that was probably left to die of poverty the year before, but had wandered into a rich valley and there fattened during the winter. Bang went a few rifles, and soon a fine beef supplied our crowd and other local trains. Our deacon remarked that he was reminded of the quails miraculously furnished the Israelites of old. We bought some flour at \$80 per barrel. We had planned to build cabins and live together while in California so as to protect each other as needed against the promiscuous villains of the mines. In fact we separated in a few days and did not meet again for years. Our company took a road leading along the ridge south until we came to a fork in the road where after a short consultation, we parted and did not meet again until we got back to Illinois. Deacon Moses Crombie and Joel Cook, with myself, went down and engaged to work for \$8 per day (not the Klondike \$15) in the mines. Then the question arose, could we old folks accustomed to hire men, honorably consent to become employees? I decided to work for the man who could afford to pay more than Ingals could. We worked on until late September, when fearful of getting shut in all winter by the rainy season, we all left for the valley and landed in good time at Sacramento City on the Sacramento River. My horse was stolen the first night. I bought a pack mule and our party moved for the foothills on the Mecasmy River twenty-five miles due east. Four years later we finished mining and dressing beef cattle and hogs at Cook's Bar, so called. I started home by San Francisco, Acapulco, Panama, Aspinwall, and New York.

Reaching Acapulco, Mexico, the Captain put in for coal and provisions. Acapulco lies near the southern line of Mexico, in latitude 17 north, adjoining Central America and seven days run from San Francisco. Beef cattle were



taken on board after being run into the sea by horsemen, by dropping a rope over the horns and hoisting them by derrick twenty-five feet to the deck. They never kicked or had their necks broken once. Instead of well arranged docks on which to go ashore, passengers rode in on the shoulders of natives. I expected to topple over among the rocks, but concluded I could risk it if my native could, but not one of them fell so far as I knew. When all things were ready we pulled out for Panama, a thirteen days run and 3,450 miles from San Francisco, lat. 8 north. It was fifty miles across the isthmus to Aspinwall, thirty of this was made on mule back and twenty-four by rail at 50c per mile. I think Panama's streets were about fifteen feet wide. I took passage on the first New York boat that went out. We entered the Caribbean Sea and our pilot made direct for the island of Jamaica. We then ran south of Cuba and sailed between it and Haiti, or San Domingo, passed among the group of the Bahamas into the open sea, direct for New York. In New York I met R. E. Goodell who kindly aided me in getting my dust coined at the Philadelphia mint.

Going west, I met Mrs. Ingals and the children, Charles and Fletcher, at La Porte, Indiana. Baby Sarah, now four years old, had been left at Ottawa with Cousin Althea Erwin. After going on to Lee Center to see after farm interests I stopped at the Erwins and got Baby Sarah and brought her to La Porte where she and her two brothers were boarded during the summer while Mrs. Ingals and myself visited in Connecticut, New York, and Vermont. This was the summer of 1854.

We were more liberal of time and money than had been our habit previously, but by early autumn we had got our three little children together and had located on the old farm in Lee County. Having arranged with Mr. Newcomb and wife and their son-in-law Ford and wife and three chil-

dren, who were in our house, we spent the winter together very pleasantly. In the spring the families of Newcomb and Ford moved to southern Minnesota where the Newcombs later died.

With our three little children, we were home from where we had drifted widely apart four years before. We pulled together the shreds and remnants of our former agriculture and again began in a small way to farm. We found the children a great help in whiling away leisure hours, and in bringing up the cows, getting in stove wood, and finally, largely indispensable business assistants. In 1854 our family had but three children; later two daughters came to bless our home, Ara, named for her mother's cousin, Ariana Morrison, and Mary Stevens, named for a great-aunt and an ancestral grandmother of Andover, Massachusetts.

## HOMES

Our first twelve years in Lee County were spent in a log cabin, costing say—\$24. It was chinked and daubed and redaubed from time to time as its waning condition seemed to require. It sheltered only our first child, Charles Hawkins. In the fall of 1848, the family moved into a small frame dwelling costing \$1,200 cash. For the times the cost was thought considerable. [Quoting from the wife's autobiography: "Stone for the cellar was hauled four miles. The large timbers for the frame were hewn from oak trees on the place. All pine lumber was hauled on wagons from Chicago, 90 miles. Its dimensions were 19 x 30 feet. There were two main rooms along the south front, the west one having an alcove for a bed, a good cupboard and a closet.

It had two south windows, an outside door and a window on the west. The east side was a kitchen, with a small room on the north, six feet wide for a pantry, with cupboard for dishes, bins for flour and meal; a broad shelf by the window had shelves and drawers under it. It also had drawers and shelves over the flour bin. Cellar stairs and stairs to the second floor went from the kitchen. The half story above was not finished and contained no partitions. Curtains served the purpose to divide it into bedrooms. We left the log cabin in 1848 and moved into this new house which seemed like a palace, with its room and its clean bright paint. One week after the move our son, Ephraim Fletcher, was born.”]

After twenty-five years, in 1873, I built another dwelling at a cost of \$5,000 and we moved in in the fall, our last move on the spot where I located in the wilderness in June, 1836. A dozen years after the last house had been raised, exhibited a wonderful and almost alarming change. Five children that from time to time had come to lighten and cheer the labors of adult age, had to the last one disappeared. The time had come when young men and women are prone to forsake fathers and mothers and cleave to others so “the twain may become one flesh.” When that time comes, the most motherly of hens is unable, with all her clucking, to gather her children under her wings.

Except about a quarter section, the farm was sold, and also the personal property, during the winter of 1884 and '85. One horse and phaeton were reserved for the use of the old proprietors, with which to move away. No family death, or serious sickness befell us there, and when the spot is seen or remembered, it can be with only a sacred sense of religious veneration.

[So end the note books of two rather unusual people, who had rather unusual experiences. A biographer of Mr. Ingals said of him, “He was an original thinker, sociable, and

## CHARLES FRANCIS INGALS

of a sunny disposition. His declining years were spent in an ideal way, with a fair competence, free of anxiety and care, always enjoying good health, living with one of the daughters and spending the winters in California or Florida."

Mrs. Ingals, after she left the farm, took up china painting and became very skilled as an artist, turning out considerable work of real merit. She died February 12, 1908, her husband having preceded her to the better land by nearly six years. He died July 2, 1902, after sixty-eight years of life in Illinois.]



# ONE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF ROCK ISLAND COUNTY\*

*By*

*CLINTON SEARLE*

It is fitting that the old settlers of Rock Island County, the descendants of those hardy pioneers, should meet this summer day at Camp Hauberg in this place of scenic beauty, in this historic valley on the banks of the Mississippi River in a centennial celebration. It is fitting that the citizens of Rock Island County on this day should meet beneath the shade of these mighty trees with the bluff as a background—the same bluffs that looked down upon this river hundreds of years before the first white man set foot upon this continent; the same bluffs that witnessed the passage of the first white man down the great Father of Waters.

It is fitting that we, the descendants of the early pioneers of Western Illinois, in Rock Island County, should pause at this time—in this one hundredth anniversary year, and recall to our minds a few of the happenings of the settlers of Rock Island County in the year of 1833.

Time will not permit us to go beyond the territory embraced in Rock Island County, other than to recall that Rock Island County was a part of the great middle west and the territory of Illinois; that about 1673 Jacques Marquette came down the Mississippi, passed this very place and returned to Canada by the Illinois River,<sup>1</sup> that Spain

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\*An address delivered at the Sixty-seventh Annual Reunion of Pioneers and Old Settlers Association of Rock Island County, Illinois, at Camp Hauberg, Thursday, August 24, 1933.

<sup>1</sup>"Illinois" by Clark E. Carr, *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. 5, April, 1912, No. 1, p. 6.

first laid a shadowy claim to this vast region, then France ruled from Fort Chartres; later, Great Britain from this same fortress attempted to govern this territory for fifteen years from 1763 to 1778. Then during the Revolution Colonel George Rogers Clark captured Kaskaskia in the name of Virginia, on July 4, 1778, and proclaimed it the "County of Illinois."<sup>2</sup> After the Revolution this territory was ceded by Virginia and other claimant States to the government of the United States. Virginia's exercise of sovereignty was of brief duration, but in ceding her claims to the United States it was specified "that the French and Canadian inhabitants, and other settlers of the Kaskaskies, Saint Vincents, and the neighboring villages, who have professed themselves citizens of Virginia, shall have their possessions and titles confirmed to them, and be protected in the enjoyment of their rights and liberties."<sup>3</sup>

The Federal Government enacted the Ordinance of 1787 which provided for the rule of the Northwest territory; then followed in 1790 in Illinois, the county of St. Clair, and in 1795 the county of Randolph, then in 1801 the Indiana territory and in 1809 the Illinois territory, with a varying number of counties until Illinois became a state in 1818. Then from time to time additional counties were formed with the increase of population. When the State of Illinois was admitted to the Union in 1818, the territory embraced in Rock Island County was a part of Madison County. From that time until 1833, when it became Rock Island County, it was a part successively of the counties of Pike, then a part was in Pike and a part in Fulton, later a part of Rock Island County was in Mercer County and a part in Henry County, and lastly its territory was a portion of Jo Daviess County.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup>See *Report of the Illinois Centennial Commission* by Jessie Palmer Weber, p. 14.

<sup>3</sup>See *Illinois Historical Collections*, Vol. 13, p. 27.

<sup>4</sup>See *Illinois Blue Book*, 1906.

## ROCK ISLAND COUNTY

The General Assembly passed a law which went in force February 9, 1831, for the laying out of Rock Island County. Section 1 of said Act describes the boundaries of the county as follows:

Be it enacted by the People of the State of Illinois, represented in the General Assembly, That all that tract of country within the following boundaries, to-wit: beginning at a point in the middle of the main channel of the Mississippi river, where the north line of township fifteen north of the military county tract intersects the same; thence east with said line to the fourth principal meridian; thence north with said meridian to the middle of the main channel of Rock river, thence up the middle of the main channel of Rock river, with the meanders thereof, to the confluence of the Marais d'ogee slough, or creek, with said river; thence along the middle of the said Marais d'ogee slough, or creek, to the Mississippi river, and to a point in the middle of the main channel thereof; thence down along the middle of the main channel of the Mississippi river to the place of beginning, shall constitute a county to be called Rock Island.<sup>5</sup>

Under this act the organization of Rock Island County was not to be completed until there was an election of three county commissioners, a sheriff and a coroner; and said act provided a condition precedent for such an election. We find the requirement set forth in section two (2) as follows: "Whenever it shall be made to appear to the satisfaction of the presiding judge of the Circuit Court of Jo Daviess County, that the said county of Rock Island contains three hundred and fifty inhabitants, it shall be his duty to grant an order for election."<sup>6</sup>

The writer has not been able to locate the court proceedings, wherein it was shown to the satisfaction of a presiding judge of a Circuit Court of Jo Daviess County that said

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<sup>5</sup>*Laws of Illinois*, 1831, pp. 52-53.

<sup>6</sup>*Laws of Illinois*, 1831, pp. 52-53.



county of Rock Island contained three hundred and fifty inhabitants; nor the court's decree ordering an election in said county of county commissioners, sheriff and coroner. But that such a compliance with the statute was made, is shown from available records, first by the act of the General Assembly of March 1, 1833, providing for the selection of a permanent court of justice in and for Rock Island County, and second by the records of an election in Rock Island County on the first Monday of July, 1833.

The Illinois General Assembly passed an act to establish a permanent seat of justice of Rock Island County which went into force March 1, 1833, which provided three commissioners—John Dixon and Elijah Charles of Jo Daviess County and John B. Gum of Knox County to make the selection and the act went on to state and the county seat thereof when selected and located, shall be called Stephenson, in commemoration of Col. Benjamin Stephenson.<sup>7</sup>

This commission provided by the Act of 1833 apparently failed to act, for it is recited at the special term of Commissioners Court, July, 1833, of Rock Island that no permanent seat of justice of Rock Island County being selected, they proceed to select a temporary seat of justice;<sup>8</sup> and later the Illinois General Assembly passed another act which went into force February 12, 1835, appointing commissioners William Bennett of Jo Daviess County, Peter Butler of Warren County and John G. Sanburn of Knox County to locate a permanent seat of justice for Rock Island County.<sup>9</sup>

In the archives of the Clerk of the County Court of Rock Island County is a very interesting document entitled, "A poll book of an election held for the County of Rock Island at the house of John Barrell on the first Monday of July, 1833." It consists of four pages and gives much historical

<sup>7</sup>*Private Laws of Illinois* for 1833, pp. 17-18.

<sup>8</sup>*Supervisors Record*, Vol. A. pp. 1-2, County Clerk's Office, Rock Island, Illinois.

<sup>9</sup>*Laws of Illinois*, 1835, pp. 159-160.



information. The official custodian of that document, as well as other early records is Mr. C. N. Isaacson, County Clerk, who is interested in early history and for many years has been very painstaking in his efforts to preserve these records. This first poll book is the record of the first election held in Rock Island County on the first Monday of July, 1833, to complete the organization of the county under the Act of 1831, by the election of county commissioners, sheriff and coroner.<sup>10</sup>

This first election was held at the house of John Barrell in Farnhamsburg, which was located about Fifth Avenue and Twenty-seventh Street in the present city of Rock Island, and is credited with being the first house built on the mainland in this part of Illinois by Davenport and Farnham in 1826.<sup>11</sup>

On that first Monday in July, 1833, there was a heavy vote cast—a total of 65. When we compare this vote with the vote cast in Rock Island County at the general election last fall in 1932, when the total number of votes cast for Governor of the state in this county was 46,782,<sup>12</sup> we begin to realize what a difference one hundred years have made in Rock Island County.

When you look at the poll book of the first election of this county, you wonder how the voter in 1933 would like to go to the polls, give his name, and publish to the world how he voted for each candidate. In 1833 the secret ballot was unknown, for each man announced his vote and it was recorded, and now after the passing of a hundred years you can look at that same poll book and see how each citizen exercised his right of franchise. The list of voters on that election day is almost a directory of the early settlers in

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<sup>10</sup>Certified photostatic copy attached, of original poll book on file in office of County Clerk of Rock Island County.

<sup>11</sup>*Past and Present of Rock Island County, Illinois*, by H. F. Kett Co., 1877, p. 27.

<sup>12</sup>*Illinois Blue Book*, 1933-34.

# CLINTON SEARLE

Rock Island County in 1833, and includes a list of voters, their order of voting and for whom they each cast their vote. The list of voters and order of voting are as follows:

Joel Thompson	Calvin Spencer
Roswell H. Spencer	John W. Spencer
Jones H. Case	F. L. Burtis
Josiah B. Chamberlain	Edward Corbin
Eri Wells	Abert Wells
William Cole	Robert Upton
Gardner Thompson	Geo. Davenport
Edward Varner	Benj. Cole
Neal McNeal	March Allen
John Tetty	Joseph Danforth
Thos. Sims	William Thompson
Nicholes Cortney	Michael Bartlet
Styles Osburn	John Maxwell
Artwines Gokey, Sr.	Lucius Wells
Joel Wells	Benj. F. Pike
James Thompson	Moses Johnson
Levy Wells	Richard Harison
John Barrell	William H. Stanley
William Cars	Samuel Baterson
Joshua Vanruff	Rinney Wells
Aseph Wells	Lewis Savoir
Thos. L. T. Johnson	William T. Brashure
John D. Wells	James Haskill
Wisdom W. Upton	Thos. Davis
Henry G. Simpson	Geo. W. Harlin
A. C. Noble	H. E. W. East
John Green	John B. Paterson
Geo. Miller	Nathan Smith
Thos. Hubard	Lewis Leparish
Henry McNeal	Batteaco Labeaes
Huntington Wells	Benj. McCan
Stephen H. Burtis	Thos. Smith
Abert Wells	

On the last page of the poll book is a certificate signed by Joseph Dunforth, Joel Wells, Sr., and William H. Sams, judges of election and attested by Joseph Conway and Wil-

liam Thompson which gives the results of the election and is as follows:

"At an election held at the house of John Barrel in Rock Island County and State of Illinois on the first day of July, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Thirty-three the following named persons received the number of votes annexed to their respective names for the following described offices to-wit:

Benjamin F. Pike had thirty-seven votes for sheriff.

Lucius Wells had twenty-six votes for sheriff.

Levy Wells fifty-one votes for coroner.

John W. Spencer had forty-two votes for county commissioner.

George Davenport had thirty-six votes for county commissioner.

George W. Harlin had forty-three votes for county commissioner.

Kinney Wells had twenty-two votes for county commissioner.

Michael Bartlet had nineteen votes for county commissioner.

Stephen H. Burtis had eighteen votes for county commissioner.

George W. Harlin had fifty votes for magistrate.

Joel Wells, Jr. had thirty-nine votes for magistrate.

John B. Paterson had fifty-two votes for magistrate.

Archibald Allen had fourteen votes for magistrate.

James L. Burtis had fifteen votes for magistrate.

Edward Corbin had forty-five votes for constable.

Huntington Wells had fifty-eight votes for constable.

George V. Miller had sixty votes for constable.

Thos. L. T. Johnson had fifteen votes for constable."

The successful county commissioners at the election were John W. Spencer who received forty-two votes; George Davenport who received thirty-six votes and George W. Harlin, who received forty-three votes.

These commissioners received their power through an act passed by the first General Assembly of the state in



1819 establishing courts of county commissioners. They had jurisdiction throughout the county, and any two constituted a quorum to do business; their jurisdiction extended to matters concerning county revenue, imposing county tax, granting license for ferries, tavern, etc., cases of public roads, canals, toll bridges, etc.<sup>13</sup>

The County Commissioners Court of Rock Island County met with all commissioners present for the first time on the 8th day of July, 1833, in special term. Joseph Conway appointed clerk took oath to support the constitutions of the state and the United States and gave a bond of \$1000.00 with John Barrell as security. The commissioners of the court there recited that commissioners appointed by last session of the legislature failed to attend and fix the seat of justice, and continues, "The Court therefore are of the opinion that the temporary seat of Justice for holding courts and elections ought to be at the House of John Barrel at Farnhamsburg in Rock Island County. They do therefore, order that Circuit Courts and Commissioners Courts and elections for said county of Rock Island be held at the House of John Barrel at Farnhamsburg."<sup>14</sup>

At this special term of court they also appointed Joel Wells, Sr., treasurer, and he gave a bond of \$500.00, while the size of the present treasurer's bond of Rock Island County is approximately \$300,000.00. The comparison of that treasurer's bond and the present county treasurer's bond of today illustrates the difference a hundred years can make in this county.

In this year of 1933, in a time when every one complains of high taxes, we wonder if there was a complaint one hundred years ago in regard to taxes, for the court ordered in the special term a levy of one-half per cent on certain property. The order is short and is as follows:

<sup>13</sup>*Illinois Laws*, 1819, p. 175; *Laws*, 1829, p. 33; *Revised Statutes*, 1833, p. 142.

<sup>14</sup>*Supervisors Record*, Vol. 2, p. 2 at County Clerk's Office, Rock Island, Illinois.



P. 3 "Ordered that one-half per cent be levied on the following description of property to-wit, on town lots, if such lots be not taxed by the trustees of such town, on slaves, and indentured or registered negroes or mulatto servants, on pleasure carriages, on distilleries, on all horses, mares, mules, asses, and meat cattle, above three years of age and on watches with their appendages and on household furniture, on clocks and on all wagons and carts and also on all sheep."<sup>15</sup>

Some of the provisions of that order bring out the tremendous changes in this county in one hundred years. The words "on slaves, and indentured or registered negroes or mulatto servants" bring to mind that the so-called Kentucky black laws were on the statute books of Illinois and applied to Rock Island County.

Another peculiar provision is the tax of livestock "above three years of age," and presumably stock under three years was not taxed; and also the absence from the list of hogs. Another peculiar article is "watches and their appendages."

This court on page 4 of their record set out the rates for tavern keepers for Rock Island County, and I am going to read the rates in hopes that some hotel keeper will see the light and endeavor to follow the footsteps of the fathers of early days. The court order is as follows:

"The following are the rates for tavern keepers for Rock Island County. For each gallon of corn or oats, 12½ cents; for each meal of victuals, 3 cents; for lodging, 25½ cents; each half pint of brandy or gin, 50 cents; whiskey for half pint, 12 cents; each quart cider, port and ale, 25 cents; for horse feed day and night, 75 cents.

"Ordered that Court be adjourned until Court in course.

George Davenport  
John W. Spencer  
John W. Harlan"

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<sup>15</sup>*Supervisors Records*, Vol. A. p. 3.

## CLINTON SEARLE

This special term of court was in July, 1833, and the regular term was held on the second day of September, 1833, at the house of John Barrell in Farnhamsburg with commissioners, John W. Spencer and George W. Davenport present.

One of the duties of the court at this first regular term was ordering the sheriff to summon certain persons to serve on a grand jury. The names were as follows:

"Lucius Wells 1	Aesaph Wells 13
William Thompson 2	William H. Sams 14
Rheana Wells 3	Joseph Danforth 15
William Case 4	Calvin Spencer 16
William F. Brazier 5	John Wells 17
Benjamin Cole 6	Josiah B. Chamberlain 18
William Case 7	James Haskill 19
Michael Bartlett 8	Archibald Allen 20
Joel Wells, Sr. 9	Joel Wells, Jr. 21
James L. Burtis 10	Thomas L. Johnson 22
Henry McNeal 11	Roswell H. Spencer 23"
Hardin E. W. East 12	

It will be noted that two of the grand jurors were of the Spencer family; and two of the Case family and six of the twenty-three were named Wells.

At this one hundredth anniversary celebration in Rock Island County time will not permit the drawing of comparisons between the settlers of today and the settlers of one hundred years ago. Each citizen must draw that comparison for himself. We view this beautiful valley with its hard roads and bridges, its farms and fences, its cities and factories and its large population, and our mind recalls that one hundred years ago the citizens of this county in that year proved to the satisfaction of the presiding judge of the Circuit Court of Jo Daviess County that Rock Island County contained three hundred and fifty inhabitants. Those inhabitants, those pioneers were a sturdy people. Many of them had come to this locality by river, for there were

no railroads or stage coaches or roads or bridges, and had sought shelter under the shadow of Fort Armstrong. They had endured hardships and the danger of the wilderness and the savages, but a short time before 1833 the ever lurking danger of the Indians was present until that was settled by the Black Hawk War.

Yet these sturdy settlers, these pioneers came to this beautiful valley and resolved to make it their home; and in those stirring days they builded the foundation of Rock Island County and assisted in building the foundation of the great state of Illinois, making it a safe place for future generations to live.

The statement of Black Hawk, the Indian chief, in his Autobiography in regard to the Watch Tower in this county when he said, "This tower to which my name has been applied was a favorite resort and was frequently visited by me alone, when I could sit and smoke my pipe, and look with wonder and pleasure at the grand scenes that were present by the sun's rays, even across the mighty Waters"<sup>16</sup> is applicable to the scenic wonders of Western Illinois.

You may travel for a thousand miles to the West and you will not find another Mississippi river. You may travel a thousand miles to the East and you will not find another great Father of Waters. In all this broad land the pioneers selected for their homes this fertile valley of the middle west. They endured hardships that we might live, and we today, in the strenuous times of 1933, have but to look back at the strenuous times of 1833, to the '60's, to the '70's, and when we do this, we will have a new hope for the future, we will look towards the future and resolve in our minds to build in this generation of 1933, as the settlers did in the generation of 1833, for our descendants, who in the years to come, are to occupy these fertile valleys.

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<sup>16</sup>*Black Hawk's Autobiography*, p. 70.

Let us in this year of 1933 have high hopes for the future, as did the fathers of 1833; and then will the words of our song "Illinois" take on a new meaning.

"Not without Thy wondrous story, Illinois, Illinois,  
Can be writ the nation's glory, Illinois, Illinois."

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## HISTORICAL NOTES

### FROM ST. LOUIS TO SPRINGFIELD IN 1836

The following extract is from a Latin letter written from St. Louis, July 16, 1836, by Father Pierre Verhaegen, Superior of the Jesuit Order in the West, to his Superior-General in Rome. It describes a trip he had just made from St. Louis to Springfield, Illinois, to look over the ground and determine what action was to be taken on an invitation he had received to open a college in that town. Stage-coach traveling in the eighteen-thirties between the metropolis of Missouri and the future capital of Illinois was a rather perilous adventure as Father Verhaegen's letter indicates. The original text is a clever piece of writing, the author taxing all the resources of his copious Latin vocabulary for vivid description.

"I set off in a public stage. There were seats in it for six persons and we were nine. As a result, much crowding. The road runs now over high hills, now across prairies, to which the eye can see no limit. The hill-sides are very steep and though a wheel of the coach was chained, it seemed to me that I was not rolling along but flying. Such things, however, have no terrors for the half-savage drivers; but for me and my fellow passengers they were, I must confess, a subject of constant alarm. The State of Illinois is still very slightly cultivated. The cabins which you see along the way give every evidence of extreme poverty and indeed travellers can scarcely find in them what they need in the way of food. There is no better drink than good water, but this is a great rarity up there while the water that does abound is scarcely fit to drink. The way over the prairie is not any too pleasant. Swarms of gnats besiege the stage-coach and the stagnant waters that lie across the road make

## HISTORICAL NOTES

it necessary for the passengers to proceed on foot through horrid places if they would not see the coach sink in the mud. At the same time the prairies are not without features agreeable to the eye. Deer running about here and there in the grass, prairie chickens, so they call them, on the wing, large sized snakes coming out of the thick of the grass and crossing the road, wolves running from the farm-houses, flowers of almost every kind and color lifting their heads above the meadow,—if one would gaze on sights like these, he will find an abundance of them in the summer-time amid those prairies. But when you have to put up for the night, all the other miseries of the journey are forgotten. I had to spend the first night in a room about twenty feet long by as many wide. In it were four beds in which, besides myself, seven men had to sleep, two of them who were sick occupying the same bed. I was allowed to choose my companion for the night and, lying on one of the beds with my clothes on, I passed three hours dozing. Moreover, the room being filled with an unpleasant odor from various drugs suggested an apothecary's shop. At three in the morning the horn blows, everybody makes ready for the journey and the coach starts off in the black of night. A cow with a bell around its neck was lying down on the road. The coach going at its usual speed drives straight for the cow. One of the four horses falls down, the cow catches its horns in the harness of the fallen horse and the trappings of the coach and is badly wounded by one of the wheels. The suffering animal groans and sets the bell a-ringing. The horses become terror-stricken and we are all in danger of our lives. The driver shouts out that he can't keep the horses in any longer. We all leap from the coach and seizing the horses' bridles do our best to hold the foaming steeds until the coach is out of trouble and we are able to resume the journey. Other discomforts along the way I omit to mention."

G. J. GARRAGHAN, S. J.

Loyola University,  
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## AN ANCIENT BURIAL GROUND

A cemetery older than the State of Illinois, in a cloistered spot, almost as remote from the present day activities as when the Indians roamed the hills and buried their dead on adjacent bluffs, yet from the crest of the hill where these dead have slept for more than a century, one can see the traffic on a concrete highway, only some three miles away.

It lies between two paved highways that cross the state, but here one still hears the tinkle of the cow-bell calling the barefoot boy to the herd and eventide. In the trees birds build their nests undisturbed, quails whistle unafraid in the jungle of underbrush, and foxes have their dens in the nearby ravines.

To reach this spot one leaves the paved highways and follows a tortuous road down through the hills through a forest in its full primeval luxuriance, where the growth of many centuries is undisturbed, and the wild flowers grow in profusion. At the end of this road, in a deep ravine one leaves the car and begins a long climb wherein the reward is ample. No paths lead to this spot, but the local historian, who has lived in these hills for eighty years, has pointed the way, and there on a precipitous bluff from whose crest one looks across a peaceful little valley, an Arcadia set down between the hills in that portion of Illinois, named by the earliest of easterners on journeys of discovery, as "The Great Bend country," for it is in that part of the state where the Mississippi River curves far to the west. Later it was to be known as Harris Township, in Fulton County.

To this little valley, about seven miles long and three wide, skirted on three sides by Spoon River, the pioneer came. There was wild game in abundance, the river teemed with fish, wood for fire was plentiful and the soil was of inexhaustible richness.

From the bluff one catches the first rays of the rising sun and it was to places like this that the Indians carried their dead, and it was to this spot that Stephen Rigdon came with his wife, Jane, for her last long sleep.

The earliest settler was William Totten who built his cabin in the lower end of the valley in 1812 and occupied

his time as an Indian trader and was a friend of Chief Blackhawk. A little later Stephen Rigdon and his wife came and their home was built under the sheltering hills on the west side of the valley. He was the first settler in what is now known as Lee Township, and he lived there for five months before he saw a white person. We are told that when his wife died he began a search for a place for her interment, and climbing to the crest of the bluff, whose summit presents a view of unusual beauty, returned to the home and brought her there and on December 1, 1817 she was laid to rest.

More than ordinary interest attaches to this family, because Stephen's brother, Sidney, was one of the founders of the Mormon faith and was one of the three that constituted the first presidency with Joseph Smith as the actual head.

The next marked grave we find is that of Luther Scott who died June 27, 1818 at the age of twenty-six years. There are numerous sunken places in the heavy blue grass indicating other graves and perhaps more than fifty bodies were buried there, but only few are marked and of that number three or four markers still stand, others lying flat on the ground.

In sequence as to dates there is Samuel Reih, died November 17, 1830; John Laswell, died July 31, 1841; J. & P. S.—October 1, 1841, three years old; Stephen Rigdon, died October 14, 1844; William Poulson, died Nov. 22, 1845; — McCammon, died 1845; Galena Poulson, died August 1, 1860; — Harless, 1866, son of A. & E. Harless died January 5, 1866; James H. Brock, died 1870; John Bell, died July 20, 1873, and this is the latest date found. Another stone, doubtless among the oldest as the ravages of time have obliterated all the lettering except "Here lies the remains of Downer" was found.

This territory is rich in history. To the south about a mile, up among the hills, came the Haney family, earliest Methodist circuit riders, in the western part of the state. Richard, destined to be the first presiding elder in this section of the state, and Milton who distinguished himself both as a circuit rider and as chaplain of the famous 55th Regi-



ment of the Illinois Volunteers of the Civil War, and these reverend gentlemen, we may presume, often read the funeral rites in this ancient burial ground.

Giant oaks send their roots down into the soil enriched by these pioneer dead, and strangely out of place, where the oldest graves are found, is a lilac bush, transplanted by loving hands in that long ago, and with each returning springtime it blooms in all of its loveliness and vernal breezes scatter its petals over the graves.

J. E. DERTINGER.

Editor, Bushnell Record,  
Bushnell, Illinois.

### AMOS WILLIAMS: DANVILLE PIONEER

Amos Williams settled in Butler's Point in April, 1826. Letters were first addressed to this locality in 1826 to Vermilion Court House, Ills. Amos Williams was the first postmaster.

The state of Illinois had been admitted to the Union in 1818. The capital was Kaskaskia until a change was made to Vandalia in 1820.

Amos Williams traveled and surveyed in the central and southern part of Illinois in 1820 and 1821. He visited Kaskaskia in 1821 and Vandalia in 1826. When Mr. Williams came to Illinois via Vincennes and Terre Haute in 1821, he settled in Clark County, which had been organized in 1819. Crawford county at that time not only included Edgar and Vermilion counties, but all of the land north up to Cook county.

Amos Williams assisted in the first surveys in this locality in 1821. He surveyed and taught school in 1822, 1823 and 1824, not far from Paris. He assisted in organizing Edgar County in 1823 and surveyed Paris. He was the first Clerk of the Commissioners' Court and first Clerk of the Circuit Court of Edgar county.

All of these experiences and travels gave him that splendid practical education for his life's work in Vermilion County.

## HISTORICAL NOTES

Leaving Edgar County in 1826, he was foremost in the organization of our county, which when first formed included Champaign, Ford, Iroquois, and our present territory.

He became Clerk of the first Commissioners' Court, and was at the first holding of the court at Butler's Point, near Catlin. Not liking the location, he was largely the factor in selecting Danville as the county seat.

Amos Williams moved here in April, 1827, after erecting one of the first cabins, which was located on Clark Street, just south of Main Street. He was accompanied by his wife and their first child, Maria Louisa, then one and one-half months old, the first white child in Danville. She later became the wife of Doctor Woodbury.

Amos Williams became at once the central figure of the little settlement. He was county agent, attending to the buying for the county. He was clerk of the County Commissioners' Court. He was clerk of the Circuit Court for nearly twenty-five years. He wrote a handsome, bold and even hand, as the early books of this county will show. It is worth any man's time to visit the Court House, and inspect the methodical and accurate manner in which Amos Williams, the pioneer, began and kept up for years, the records of this county. We have had good men since, occupying the positions he originated, but he was the beginner.

While he was a Whig in politics, so completely did he please the people, that he was postmaster from 1826 until 1840. When the Whigs returned to power, he was called back.

No other man held so many positions, nor held them so many years in Vermilion County as did Amos Williams. As County Agent, he conducted the first sale of lots in Danville, on April 10th and 11th, 1827. He made subsequent sales, both public and private for many years.

He was first Recorder of Vermilion County. He was also judge of the Probate Court, Notary Public, Register of Saline Lands, Master in Chancery, Postmaster and Circuit Clerk. He was the Bureau of Information for all. Parties seeking lands, estray animals, taxes, laws, merchandising,

milling, or the professions, each and all talked with or wrote to Amos Williams.

He was active in many things apart from his official duties. He was foremost in church and school matters, giving both time and money. He built and furnished the site for the first school house. His home was the headquarters for the itinerant preacher. As a surveyor, he was much interested in roads, himself surveying for the state the road from Paris to Springfield; also the road from Paris to the salt-works. He spent much time and thousands of dollars in erecting mills and mill dams. He personally conducted grist mills, saw mills, and a mill for carding wool, all located near Danville. He invented a mill wheel and carried on a correspondence with Abraham Lincoln, trying to obtain a patent for it. He left a large correspondence showing his interest in steam engines.

In 1837, he was the secretary of the meetings that joined with Lafayette in arousing interest in what was later the Northern Cross railroad, now known as the Wabash. He saw the roadbed prepared and the abutments constructed where the Wabash now crosses the Vermilion. The panic followed, and he lived almost twenty years longer to see the scheme carried out and the engine come over these same abutments into Danville. His aid never faltered. In 1856, only a year before his death, he gave \$200.00 to provide a depot grounds for the Wabash railroad.

He was a student and had a large library. A practical printer himself, having been apprenticed for six years in Chambersburg, Pa., he always encouraged the local newspaper. He was agent for the American Bible Society, giving away at his own expense much of their literature.

Amos Williams conducted an extensive correspondence with the state officials, and our members of the legislature relating to public matters. Many of the judges and lawyers who attended or lived here when Amos Williams was clerk of the Court, later became of national renown—President Lincoln, Vice-President David Davis, U. S. Senators E. D. Baker, Sam'l. McRoberts, S. A. Douglas, Sidney Breese, Lyman Trumbull, etc. Among other bright lawyers at the bar then were: O. B. Ficklin, Leonard Swett, Ed. Hanni-

gan, John J. Brown, T. Lyle Dickey and our own Judge Oliver L. Davis.

For this long term of years, Amos Williams met these bright minds, and did his part and more, in holding Danville and Vermilion County in line for the larger and greater affairs that have since come to us.

Occupying the position he did and being so familiar with the locations of land in the county, it was natural that he should locate and buy several tracts. Several of these holdings were later cut across by the street named for him, *viz.* Williams Street.

As a beginner, originator, and stayer, there was nobody so prominent in the early work of settlement and development as Amos Williams.

The foregoing paper was written by A. G. Woodbury and was found among his papers at the time of his death.

FLORA WOODBURY.

Danville, Illinois.



## HISTORICAL NEWS

On September 3, with impressive ceremonies, the George Rogers Clark Memorial and the new interstate memorial bridge over the Wabash River were dedicated at Vincennes, Indiana. Celebrated also was the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Peace of Paris, by which the Revolutionary War was terminated.

The bridge, a beautiful concrete structure with an ornamental approach on the Indiana side, was constructed jointly by the states of Indiana and Illinois. The memorial proper, located a short distance from the Indiana bridge approach, was built largely through Federal appropriation.

Governor Henry Horner opened the program at noon with an address in which he paid tribute to George Rogers Clark and his great achievements. Governor Paul V. McNutt of Indiana spoke next. In the afternoon Senator Simon D. Fess of Ohio, Chairman of the George Rogers Clark Sesquicentennial Commission, was scheduled to speak, but rain came a few minutes after he had commenced, and the program was cut short by the immediate sealing of the corner stone. Thousands of citizens of both Illinois and Indiana were present for the exercises.

In his address Governor Horner stressed the fact that the new bridge would serve as an integral part of the proposed Lincoln Memorial Highway as well as a monument to Clark, and that it would also strengthen the bond of friendship between the two states.

"When Lincoln was a boy of seven," Governor Horner said, "his family trekked westward from Kentucky to Spencer County, Indiana, where he lived until he was 21; thence

the family moving westward, crossed the Wabash at Vincennes into Illinois. An Illinois Commission has carefully marked the trail that Lincoln's family took in Illinois from the West Bank of the Wabash at this point to the little town of New Salem near Springfield, where he began to carve out his wondrous career. Our state expects to build shortly a beautiful Lincoln Memorial Highway along the trail. Kentucky has a commission, like that of Illinois, which will fix the path the Lincoln family took from Lincoln's birth-place in Kentucky to the Indiana line, over which that State will build its Lincoln Memorial Highway, while a like commission of the State of Indiana is engaged in preparing for a similar memorial highway over the trail the family took through Indiana. This beautiful and substantial bridge will connect the west end of the Indiana Lincoln Highway and the east end of the Illinois Lincoln Highway. When the Lincoln Highways of these three states are completed, the tourist, the seeker for inspiration from the Lincoln theme, will be able to travel from the place of birth of the emancipator in Kentucky, through Indiana, to his last resting place in Illinois, along a continuous, majestic highway, in contemplation of the great and magnetic American character who passed that way more than a century ago. And this beautiful bridge will be always an important link in that historic way."

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Historically, the climax of A Century of Progress came on August 12, one hundred years to a day after the infant settlement at Fort Dearborn lawfully became the town of Chicago. Under the auspices of the Chicago Historical Society and World's Fair executives, commemorative exercises including an historical pageant, were held in the natural theater on the lake shore opposite the Transportation Building.

Many of those in the audience were descendants of the group of men who had gathered at Mark Beaubien's to incorporate the town one hundred years ago. Mingled with them were many Winnebago Indians, descendants of the tribe which had roamed over the site of Chicago when it was only the site of Fort Dearborn.

Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, President of the Illinois State Historical Society, sketched the outlines of Chicago's first century, beginning with the gathering at the Beaubien home out of which the little town of 150 inhabitants, with twenty-nine legal voters, emerged.

In the pageant Chicago's first mayor—Thomas J. V. Owen—and the members of the first town council were impersonated by trustees of the Chicago Historical Society. Lester Luther, in the character of Mayor Owen, congratulated Mayor Kelly on the growth of the city, and the ceremony ended with Mayor Kelly's response.

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Another significant ceremony took place at A Century of Progress on August 11, Illinois Day. On that occasion the drive leading from the great circle at the exposition grounds to the Adler Planetarium was dedicated by the women of Illinois, with Mrs. Paul J. Wimsey of Springfield as chairman. A feature of the dedication was the unveiling of a tablet to Mrs. Achsah Bond, wife of the first governor of Illinois. The address of the day was delivered by Governor Horner, who spoke eloquently of the part which the women of Illinois have played in bringing the state to its present place in the nation.

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St. Charles, the beautiful city on the Fox River in Kane County, celebrated its one hundredth anniversary with a program commencing on August 24 and lasting until the 27th. The outstanding feature of the observance was a pag-

gant, written by Miss Alice Davis, covering the first century of St. Charles' existence. Depicted were the arrival, in 1823, of Maj. Stephen Long of the United States Army, on his way to establish the forty-ninth parallel and thus locate the boundary between the United States and Canada; the advent of Gen. Winfield Scott and his U. S. Regulars during the Black Hawk War; the coming of the first settlers after the close of hostilities; and other scenes in the history of the community. More than 12,000 spectators witnessed the first performance of the pageant.

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Seventy-five years ago Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas were addressing great crowds over the State of Illinois in what was thought to be a campaign for the United States Senatorship, although it was actually a contest for the Presidency. The high points of the campaign were the seven joint debates, held as follows:

Ottawa, August 21, 1858.

Freeport, August 27, 1858.

Jonesboro, September 15, 1858.

Charleston, September 18, 1858.

Galesburg, October 7, 1858.

Quincy, October 13, 1858.

Alton, October 15, 1858.

The principal feature of the seventy-fifth anniversary of these debates is a series of cachets, sent from each city on the date of the debate. Sponsors are the Abraham Lincoln Association, the Lincoln's Home Philatelic Society and the Illinois State Historical Society.

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On August 20 the Optimist Club of Normal unveiled a tablet at Hudson in McLean County to mark the birthplace of Melville E. Stone, founder of the Chicago Daily News



and for a quarter of a century head of the Associated Press. Stone was born in 1848 in what was known then, as now, as the Gildersleeve house. Built by James T. Gildersleeve in 1836, the old home stands today in virtually its original condition. Thus the marker serves the double purpose of calling attention to one of the oldest structures in McLean County and designating the birthplace of one of America's greatest journalists.

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Sometime in September a marker is to be erected on the site of the first permanent settlement in Stephenson County. The place is three miles northwest of the town of Lena, and the settler was William Waddams, who staked out a claim at this point in the fall of 1832 and erected a cabin there the following summer. The marker was secured through the efforts of C. B. Shoesmith, of Lena.

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The New York Public Library desires to secure biennial reports of the Illinois State Historical Society for the years 1902-04, 1904-06, 1906-08 and 1910-12. Any member of the Society who has saved his reports and is willing to present them to this institution should communicate with E. H. Anderson, Director.

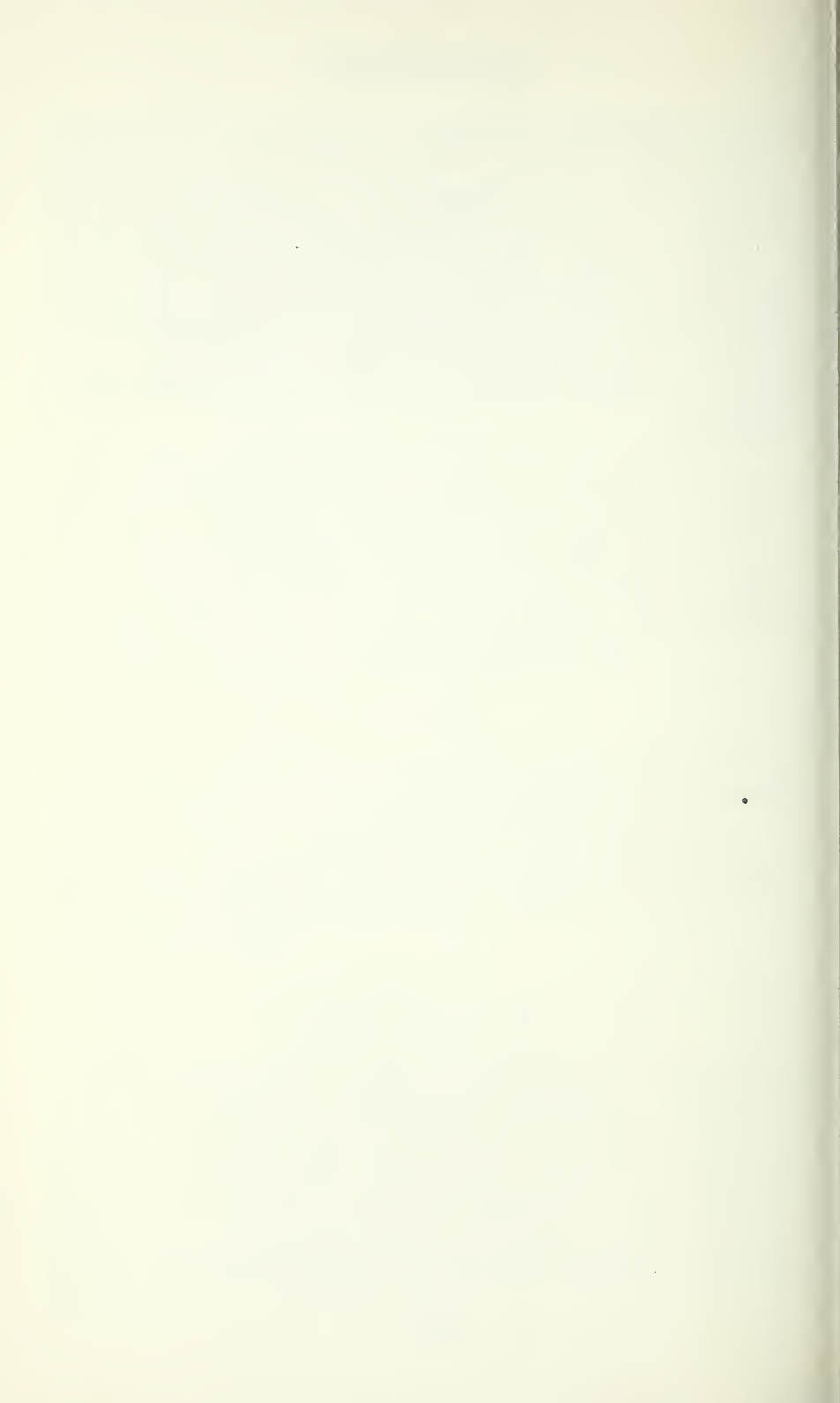
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## CONTRIBUTORS

Thomas Wakefield Goodspeed played a prominent part in the establishment of the "new" University of Chicago, and was connected with that institution in various capacities until his death in 1927. He was the author of several historical works dealing with the University. The publication of his paper, especially appropriate on this seventy-fifth anniversary of the Lincoln-Douglas debates, was made

## CONTRIBUTORS

possible by his sons, Charles T. B. Goodspeed and Edgar J. Goodspeed. Douglas C. McMurtrie is director of typography for the Ludlow Typograph Co. of Chicago and is an authority on the history of printing. Robert D. Holt resides at Arcola, Indiana. His study of William A. Richardson was prepared while he was a graduate student at the University of Chicago. Lydia Colby is a resident of Geneseo, Illinois. Clinton Searle is a lawyer of Rock Island, a student of local history and a member of the General Assembly of Illinois.



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## DOUGLAS' PLACE IN AMERICAN HISTORY

By

GEORGE FORT MILTON

*Mr. President, Members of the Illinois State Historical Society, Ladies and Gentlemen:*

It was with keen pleasure that I accepted the invitation to consider with you this evening the significance to the history of the Union of that great son of Illinois, Stephen Arnold Douglas.

Particularly am I glad to return to Springfield. For the past four years, ever since I have been working on a historical biography of the Little Giant, Springfield has loomed large in my study and my thought. Not, to be sure, your pleasant city of today, but the Springfield of almost a century ago, a spacious country town with its rutted, muddy streets, its rude but hospitable taverns, Ike Diller's Drug Store — the unofficial Democratic Club — Charley Lanphier's paper denouncing its contemporary and being denounced in turn — in a word, the Springfield of the 'Forties and the 'Fifties, still impressed with the frontier but anxious to forget it.

Here it was that young Douglas came the very year that the state capital was moved from Vandalia, thanks to the effective and — to the state — quite expensive lobbying of the "Long Nine," of whom young Lincoln was a member.

Here Douglas moved when he was named registrar of the land office as a reward for party service. Here he helped the Webers beat off a frenzied sheriff's attack upon their newspaper office — an editorial duty happily less fre-

quent now than then. Here young Stephen took a part in capital society, with its routs, levees, Germans and balls, and became a favorite with the fair sex; here, too, according to the romantic legend, he courted and fruitlessly proposed to the charming Mary Todd. It is established that one day he proposed to buy her a dish of store ice cream, and that she playfully placed a garland of roses around his neck. But neither Paul Angle nor Carl Sandburg nor I have found trace of more serious proposal on his part.

Here too, Douglas served briefly as Secretary of State of Illinois. Here he was elected to the state supreme court, and departed to hold court over the Quincy circuit—a service which soon involved him with the Mormons, and brought him into an odd relation with Joseph Smith, the Prophet of the Lord.

After 1841, Douglas did not live at Springfield. His formal residence was first at Quincy, then at Chicago; most of his time was necessarily spent in Washington, and the rest of his career distinctly belongs to the State and to the Union. But he had dear friends here, and as I have read the letters which passed to and fro, I have come to have a feeling of real affection for Charles H. Lanphier, that most loyal and intelligent of editors, whose *Illinois State Register* was a tower of strength to Douglas' cause. Nor can I forget Thomas L. Harris, as shrewd a political advisor, as unflagging and devoted a friend as Douglas ever had. 'Three times Springfield Democrats rejoiced over Douglas' election to the Senate, and in April, after Sumter, Springfield was the scene of his thrilling appeal for Union—as high and moving oratory as was ever heard upon our continent. Springfield loomed large in Douglas' life, even as Douglas loomed large in that troubled twilight which preceded the sharp flames of war.

But my purpose is not to try to move you with glowing adjectives. I can do no better than to repeat those words

of Douglas himself in the debate at Ottawa, an even three-quarters of a century ago: "Silence will be more acceptable to me in this discussion of these questions than applause. I desire to address myself to your judgment, your understanding and your consciences, and not to your passions or your enthusiasm." It is with nouns and verbs, not with adjectives or adverbs, that I wish to persuade you. It is not fancies but facts — and the truth behind them — which should form the basis of our consideration of this man who almost prevented the Civil War.

In life, as in death, it was Douglas' misfortune to be ground between opposing millstones. In life, his endeavors to establish economic common sense as the arbiter of sectional disputation were frustrated by radical minorities, North and South — minorities which would coöperate only to defeat a middle course. Since his death, Douglas has chiefly been written of by partisans of Abolition North or Secession South, and writers of both sections have caricatured the man.

As the historian forces his way along the tangled labyrinth of events, seeking to sift fact from fable and truth from falsehood, ever is he confronted with the need to pierce through the outer husk of men's words to seek their inner purpose. All too often he finds deeds at variance with professions. He discovers the politician's armory of pet phrases, slogans skillfully designed to protect special interests, formulae pretending to mean one thing but with weasel words leaving a loophole for another, constitutional interpretations masking political ambitions or predatory purpose. When one is surfeited with such dialectic, it is refreshing to come to grips with a realistic statesman. Douglas was such a man.

On occasion, it must be admitted, he fortified his policies of economic intelligence with a defensive armor of party doctrine or constitutional support. But Douglas knew that



he lived in a world swayed by shibboleths and sophistries. If he hoped to make himself measurably understood in such a world, he knew that he must employ a language which would be recognized.

Be this as it may, phrases did not hypnotize the Little Giant. By the time he had reached the age of thirty, he had sloughed off his intellectual adolescence. By the time he was forty, Douglas had surveyed the world about him, had arrived at an intelligent understanding of it, and was endeavoring to relate himself constructively to the social pattern of his times. "I know not what our destiny may be," he confided to a friend, "but I try to keep up with the spirit of the age, to keep in view the history of the country, to see what we have done, whither we are going and with what velocity we are moving, in order to be prepared for those events which it is not in the power of men to thwart."

This effort to understand the world he lived in, to restore prosperity, preserve peace, tie close the bonds of Union, marked Douglas' career. Such intelligence of purpose constitutes one mark of the statesman.

Nor can one survey, even casually, Douglas' private and public life without being impressed with his basic force and vigor. He was the sort of man any of us here tonight would delight to know. Able, courageous, captivating in company, staunchly loyal to a friend, he was a fascinating figure.

And yet his significance to this nation is not alone that he was a gallant fighter, for our annals are full of these, of men who led desperate charges, of men who fought for truth as they conceived it, or fought for error with equal courage. And it is more than that he was a dramatic flashing figure, or a great and successful politician who understood the mechanics of public persuasion and used it with rare skill. There have been many such in our annals. There have been great figures like Daniel Webster, who

would debate imortally about the enduring nature of the Union, and write imprudent letters asking that Biddle's bank "freshen" his retainer. And then there have been magnificent logicians like John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, a master of verbal dialectic who privately did not insist upon adherence to the gossamer theories which he publicly demanded. Such men are noted, they are deservedly remembered, but one wonders whether they will endure as great.

Douglas did have courage, he did have drama, and political sagacity. He was a master of public presentation. He could handle himself with the best of them in constitutional debate. But it was none of these things which gave him his real significance in our history. To them was super-added another quality — a catalytic agent which took this curious plexus of aptitude and genius, and transformed the politician into the statesman. This catalytic agent was that most satisfactory of all human qualities, the ability of a man to have an organic growth of character — that essential quality without which no man can become great, lacking which no greatness will endure.

When Douglas first came to Illinois he was little more than a bright, pleasant, ambitious fellow anxious to get on in the world. It did not take him long to read this riddle, and his first decade in the state was amazingly successful. But in 1843, when he went to Washington, he came under the impress of mighty issues and his purposes changed and broadened. During his last few years he was willing to employ his matchless powers for the preservation of the Union that he loved. This it is, this change from attractive smallness to appealing largeness, from successful self-service to nobility of purpose and endeavor, which made him worth while.

Let me here remark that this same great quality made Abraham Lincoln notable. Like Douglas, he was not born

full grown in greatness. Like Douglas, he began as a politician, ambitious for his own career. Like Douglas, he was not always over-scrupulous as to his methods, and would, in his early career, sacrifice consistency and principle in order to get a foothold on the ladder of success. Lincoln's growth came later than did that of Douglas. The Little Giant began to transform into a statesman in the 'Fifties, but the most judicious students of Lincoln's career date his full emergence into greatness from about the year 1862.

Master politician in his campaign against the Little Giant, determined Republican during the presidential canvass, under the actual pressure of responsibility Lincoln's growth was magnificent. A year in the crucible of war, a year spent in struggling with armed enemies in the South, copperheads and fanatic Abolitionists in the North, opened his eyes as to the emptiness of many of the party formulae he had hitherto extolled, and carried him to the position Douglas had held in 1858 — that the one great need of the nation was that the Union be preserved.

This willingness to abandon the doctrine of his election, this decision to embrace the principle of his antagonist, led Lincoln to his famous declaration that he intended to follow whatever policy would preserve the Union; were that the maintenance of slavery, he would fight for that; should it appear that the abolition of slavery would better secure the Union, he would seek that path — his essential purpose had become the maintenance of the Union by whatever means were necessary. This announcement, highly displeasing to the Abolition brethren, gave the country its first sign that Abraham Lincoln had become really great. This was the first index of the man's patriotic genius, this exhibited in him that same quality of organic growth of character which is so notable in the case of Douglas. These two men both experienced that vital change which must be had within a man if he is to become really great.

Before coming to any exact appraisal of Douglas' place in our history, it might be useful for us to make certain further inquiries. It is important to have an understanding of the man as a human being, the emotional condition of his times, and the part he played in great events. In Douglas' case, these inquiries yield important results.

While at birth Stephen Arnold Douglas weighed thirteen pounds, his physical growth was not up to his beginning. As a youth he was slender, when he reached Illinois weighed about 100 pounds, and he was never more than five feet two inches tall. By the time of his election to the Senate he was almost stout.

Douglas' head was huge, so large that it seemed quite out of proportion to his body. As a boy he had thick brown hair, slightly curly; by the 'Fifties it was sprinkled with gray. His forehead was broad, more full than high, his round clean-shaven face had neither mustache nor beard. His complexion was rich and dark.

Douglas' eyes were his most striking feature — large, steady, dark blue in color, set deep beneath dark eyebrows of great width, they impressed people with a peculiar quality of depth. His thick, pugnacious nose was above a clear-cut, well-arched mouth, so set that it generally gave a bitter expression to his face. His square chin was full of eddying dimples, his ears small and white. This heavy and impressive head and face was connected by a short neck to a pair of strong, square shoulders. His chest was full, his body not unduly short, but his lower limbs were very short, his hands small and chubby, his feet very small. Generally he dressed with neatness, though not always in good taste.

There was a peculiar fascination to his voice. He was not a loud talker, though, if the occasion demanded, he could bring forth a volume of sound to make himself heard over almost any disturbance. The especial quality of his voice was a deep, vibrant energy, effective both in legis-



lative hall and out in the open, where he had an uncanny ability to proportion the volume of his tones to the fluctuations of the winds. On occasion his voice would rise and fall with circumstance, seemingly with the effortless volume of a great organ tone. Round, deep and sonorous, he was able to reach his remotest hearer and yet the effort to do so never produced an ear-splitting tempest upon those close by.

So much for the man's appearance. His manner was friendly, genial, extraordinarily magnetic. He had a gift for names and faces and, when he was a supreme court judge, he knew 10,000 people by their first names. The man had the qualities of a human lodestone. He liked to do things for his friends, and his friends would go to the stake for him. Even now, and not many miles from Springfield, I have found grey-bearded men who have told me proudly that they were and still are Douglas Democrats.

He had much more than a genial charm. His horizons were wide, his interests surprisingly diverse. Of course, his chief concerns were politics and public affairs, but he proved himself an excellent business man. From the days of his first coming to Illinois he bought land. The Van Buren panic wiped out his equities and left him loaded with debt, which he scrupulously cleared off. In the 'Forties he bought land again, much of it in Chicago. The Abolitionists charged that the money for these purchases came from Douglas' slave-holding wife, but the statement was not true.

Of land values in Illinois, and particularly in Chicago, Douglas' judgment was justified. At the time of his death his land was worth a million, and today it would be worth tens of millions. The crash of his estate was due to the hardness of the times and the ineptness (the word is mild) of his executor. During his lifetime he was generally comfortably off, but there were many occasions of business crisis, or political emergency when his financial resourcefulness

was taxed to the breaking point, yet always he worked his way out.

Not only was Douglas alert to personal business opportunities but he had a keen eye for the economic development and general prosperity of the nation. When Cyrus H. McCormick came to Chicago, he brought a letter of introduction from the Little Giant. The records of the Congressional Library reveal his zeal in matters of science and invention. He pored over books about electricity, the magnetic telegraph, steam and steam engines, practical details which afforded him an unusual insight into the rôle the iron horse and the whispering copper strand would play in girding the continent.

A few years after the United States accepted James Smithson's great endowment, Douglas became a trustee of the Institute. Before long he and Professor Joseph Henry became devoted friends, the Senator faithfully attended the numerous trustees' meetings, quickly grasped the scientists' attitude toward their problems, and did his best to aid them. Upon his death the Smithsonian Trustees held a special meeting to portray Douglas as friend of science and patron of the arts.

The Little Giant took an especial interest in fledgling artists. In the 'Fifties, at a time when he was under heavy strain for cash, he supplied the funds to send Leonard Volk to Rome to study sculpture. Volk made good his patron's trust, and you know his statue of Douglas here in the library at Springfield, and his life mask of Lincoln. Many impecunious young painters secured commissions to do Douglas' portrait. And what is more, I have a few poems which were the Little Giant's handiwork. While I do not guarantee the presence of the lyric muse, at least I can attest that they conform to standard prosody.

Nor should I omit to mention Douglas' interest in education. He had his start in this state as a schoolmaster, and

afterwards was ever anxious that Illinois secure a strong system of public schools. Moreover, he sought a great university for Chicago, gave the land, encouraged the trustees, looked to the first Chicago University to light a lamp of learning for the West.

Perhaps I should add a word about his religion. He came from a Congregationalist family. There is record that, in Jacksonville, he made it a point to go to some of Peter Cartwright's revivals, but his religious views were not pronounced. In the 'Forties he acquired a distaste for preachers in politics, and in the 'Fifties he was indignant at the way many Northern preachers denounced the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. By nature he was tolerant of religious freedom. His second wife, the lovely Adele Cutts, was a Catholic, and Douglas permitted her to send the two children of his first marriage to a Catholic school. Later the two boys embraced their stepmother's faith, and the Douglasses of the third generation are Catholic. When the Little Giant was at the point of death in Chicago, in June, 1861, he was visited again and again by Bishop Duggan, the Catholic Primate of the city, and the claim is made that he received final unction and died in the arms of the mother church. At any rate, Bishop Duggan was in full canonicals when he preached Douglas' funeral sermon.

So much for the man himself. Now let me give you a little psychic picture of the world in which he played his part.

All over the globe the 'Forties and 'Fifties were marked by a disturbed social, political, economic and emotional equilibrium. It was in 1846 that Karl Marx wrote one of his most powerful pronouncements against capitalism. In the same decade, Great Britain abandoned her corn laws and her old parties broke into bits. In 1848, nationalism flamed vividly from Paris to Budapest. New currents were cutting new channels for man's faith and effort; the rivers



of life were burdened with the flotsam of the past, the winds were laden with the whispers of the future.

During these years America escaped actual bloodshed at the barriers, but the existing conflict between thought and emotion was intensified, and from 1850 forward the American public mind was fluid, old intellectual concepts lost their hold, latent emotions were sensitized and mobilized by master psychologists.

It was in this decade that a basic philosophical conflict discernible through most of our national history, the conflict between rational and mystic democracy, between idea and emotion, neared its climax.

The psychic forces clamoring for expression were of such intensity that they soon broke the barriers. It was a time for free expression. There was a relaxation of intellectual discipline, a latitude for impulse and emotion, a drive for reform, change, agitation, which boded ill for any arbitrament of intelligence.

One cannot go into the details of the origins of these movements, but one fundamental cause was a folk reaction to the Industrial Revolution, with corresponding adjustments and resentments both in urban and rural worlds. In the old American Northwest, they were part of that normal pioneer resentment against those who lived in older and more comfortable regions, and whose powers over the social and political organizations of the country seemed dominant. These resentments quickly rationalized into idealism, and the protests directed against the new control groups which arose with the Industrial Revolution took the form of moral crusades. At first there was considerable diversity of agitation. Abolitionism shared with the drive against foreigners, the Church of Rome, the Demon Rum, the evils of property ownership, the thralldom of women, even the slavery of skirts. But there came a subtle borrowing from old world patterns, older forms of expression were adopted,



ultimately the Northern protesting groups substituted for other objects of resentment, the Southern planter and his property in man.

It was in this epoch of change that Douglas commanded the national stage. Let me refer briefly to four great episodes of national significance. These were, first, the fashioning of the Compromise in 1850. Next, the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, involving as it did the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. Third, there was the Little Giant's break with the Ultras of both sections, a break exemplified by his battle with James Buchanan over Kansas' Lecompton Constitution, and immediately succeeding, his great struggle with Lincoln and the Republicans in Illinois in 1858; and then finally, his efforts to avert the Civil War.

The Compromise of 1850 is so generally credited to Henry Clay that Douglas' share has been relatively unnoticed. Yet at the outset, as Chairman of the Senate's Committee on Territories, Douglas had control of all the legislation affecting the settlement of the California dispute, save only the measure for the return of fugitive slaves. They were all in Douglas' Committee before Clay made his famous speech. Douglas had bills drawn about them by the time Webster made his great address of the 7th of March.

But let Douglas speak for himself. I quote from a private letter which, on August 3, 1850, he wrote Lanphier to give him "a pretty full history of the Compromise, of its rise and fall."

"You have doubtless heard of the defeat of the Compromise of the Committee of Thirteen," Douglas began. "I regret it very much, although I must say that I never had very strong hopes of its passage. By combining the measures into one bill the Committee united the opponents of each measure instead of securing the friends of each. I have thought from the beginning that they made a mistake in

this respect. I declined being a member of the Committee of Thirteen for this reason and for the same reason opposed the appointment of the Committee. It was as well known before the Committee were appointed what they were to do as after they reported."

Douglas then went on to point out how he had previously written and reported a California bill, a territorial bill for Utah and New Mexico, and one for the settlement of the Texas boundary. "Before I reported these bills," he continued, "I consulted Mr. Clay and General Cass whether I should put them in one or separate bills. They both advised me to keep them separate."

Douglas acted on their advice, then Clay changed his mind and the project for a Committee of Thirteen was brought forward. Douglas thought this "unwise and unnecessary" inasmuch as the leading members declared they did not intend to change any feature of his bills. But the Committee was appointed, it took his two printed bills, "and put a wafer between and reported them back without changing or writing a single word except one line." This was the final line which prohibited territorial legislatures from legislating upon the subject of slavery. The Committee voted this amendment "in opposition to wishes of General Cass and Mr. Clay, and they gave notice that they should move to strike it out in the Senate and it was stricken out."

"So you see," Douglas wrote his friend, "that the difference between Mr. Clay's Compromise bill and my two bills was a wafer, and that he did not write one word of it, and that I did write every word."

After the bill came forward as an omnibus measure, Douglas gave it his "active and unwavering support." Its defeat was because of the "union between the Free Soilers, Disunionists and the Administration of General Taylor. All the power and patronage of the government was brought

to bear against us, and at last the allied forces were able to beat us."

But Douglas was not discouraged. He rejoiced that the Utah bill passed the Senate "in the precise words in which I wrote it." He was penning his letter to Lanhier while the debate on the California bill was in progress, and he believed his Springfield friend would hear of its passage through the Senate before the letter reached him.

"We shall then take up the bill for the Texas boundary," he added; he and Pierce of Maryland were preparing it. "We shall then take up the bill for New Mexico and pass it just as I reported it four months ago. Thus will all the bills pass the Senate and I believe the House also. When they are all passed, you will see they will be collectively Mr. Clay's Compromise and separately the bills reported by the Committee on Territories four months ago . . . I must say that if Mr. Clay's name had not been associated with the bills they would have passed long ago. The Administration was jealous of him and hated him and some Democrats were weak enough to fear that the success of his bill would make him president. But let it always be said of Old Hal that he fought a glorious and a patriotic battle. No man was ever governed by higher and purer motives."

Concluding, Douglas informed his friend that he had "great confidence that we will be able to settle the whole difficulty before we adjourn." Under his skillful leadership, this prediction was made good.

Seeking to float the compromise to success on a sea of stately speeches, Clay had addressed the Senate more than seventy times. But Douglas adopted other strategy, and let others stalk the boards while he managed from off-stage. This new technique had effect immediately, and one by one, his measures passed the Senate. He next undertook to steer the compromise through the House, his leadership proved

effective, and soon all the measures of adjustment had passed both Houses and had been signed by the President.

Douglas' contemporaries were not unaware of his achievement. "If any man has a right to be proud of these measures," Jefferson Davis, who had fought them, said in the final debate, "it is the Senator from Illinois." Clay too similarly expressed himself.

Few of the great events of our history have been more controverted than Douglas' motives in moving the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. You are familiar with James Ford Rhodes' contention that Douglas did so in order to attach to himself Southern support for the Democratic presidential nomination. Now, while Mr. Rhodes was an indefatigable searcher for materials, he had his blind spots, and one of them was Douglas. In view of the fact that Daniel Pomeroy Rhodes, the historian's father, one of Douglas' dearest friends, earnestly supported both his doctrine of popular sovereignty and his presidential projects, it is surprising that the son so disliked the Little Giant. But we must remember that the elder Rhodes was executor for Douglas' estate, that the Douglas children complained of his administration and brought suit against Rhodes' estate, and that James Ford Rhodes, the executor, paid out a substantial sum of cash to them. It is barely possible that Executor Rhodes' experience with the Douglas estate colored Historian Rhodes' opinions of Douglas' career.

Irrespective of all this, a close scrutiny of the facts pretty well disposes of the charge that Douglas undertook the Missouri Compromise repeal as a bid for Southern votes. He had good support from Southern delegates in the 1852 Democratic National Convention — Buchanan alone had more. The Little Giant's weakness was from the Middle States and the Northwest, and he was conscious of this, as were his confidential Southern advisors.

For example, early in 1853, Senator Yulee of Florida,



wrote Douglas: "You stand well with the State Rights men, with New England, with the South, and with the party at large . . . The Northwest is powerful in numbers and wealth and becoming more so, and has strong and if well presented, *insuperable claims* to the Presidency next time . . . If the Northwest is *divided*, and has therefore no distinctly claimed candidate, your chances will depend upon your successful rivalry of the pretensions of all the various candidates throughout the land . . . If the Northwest is united, her claims will be yielded to at once, and your nomination effected without contest."

Even a tyro in politics could see that the Missouri Compromise repeal would harm Douglas' Northwestern prospects, and that the South would only aid a man who had strength at home. I am convinced that what Douglas chiefly wanted was to get Kansas and Nebraska organized, so that a railroad could be built across them, and the Middle West could win the great railroad race to the Pacific.

Nor did Douglas feel that the repeal of the Missouri Compromise was a blow to freedom. He was looking at the slavery issue from a national rather than a sectional point of view. The difference between Douglas' attitude toward slavery legislation and that of Abraham Lincoln, first expressed in their Springfield and Peoria debates in 1854, and reaching its crescendo in 1858, was quite fundamental. On many points the two agreed. Each wanted to preserve the Union, and to protect the states in their rights as set out by the Constitution. Each felt that chattel slavery would eventually be extinguished, each wished this to occur.

But they differed as to method. Douglas believed that the operation of economic laws would solve the problem, that the climate, soil and other natural characteristics of the western territories would make them free. He thought that the effect of the Missouri Compromise repeal would not be to extend slavery but to reduce Southern opposition to the

formation of new territories, that several new free territories would be established, and finally the South would find its competition with free labor too unprofitable, and slavery would die a natural death. But during this process, the South would have no *legitimate complaint*, for its honor would have been carefully respected, its constitutional rights scrupulously observed and maintained. This, in Douglas' view, was national ground.

Lincoln, however, insisted that the end desired could only be attained by stamping slavery as morally wrong. He insisted on national legislation to prevent its spread into further areas. When he said, at Springfield, in 1854, that slavery was "a great moral wrong," he stated the main difference between Douglas and himself. Douglas knew that most important Southern leaders regarded the North's "conviction of the sinfulness of slavery" as the crux of the problem. Douglas felt that the preservation of the Union depended on holding the Democratic party intact as a great national binding tie. He knew that the South would not countenance any step on national policy premised on the sinfulness of slavery. If disunion were to be prevented, expressions of emotional indignation against slavery must be held in check.

Douglas had no love for slavery, privately termed it "a curse beyond comparison to both white and black." But he could not publicly admit this, for once he did so, the Democratic party's national force would be gone.

"The only power that can destroy slavery"—that is, immediate, forthwith destruction—he told a friend, in 1854, "is the sword, and if the sword is once drawn one can see the end . . . 'To do evil that good may come' is false morality and worse policy, and I regard the integrity of this political Union as worth more to humanity than the whole black race."

This was the reason Douglas proclaimed neutrality. But

while Lincoln also claimed to stand on national ground, he did not hesitate to take sectional ground on slavery. His attitude was right in that it reflected the growing emotional excitement of the Northern people. Lincoln was wrong, in that his policy did lead to Civil War. Douglas failed in his effort to keep people's emotions so in check that an intelligent adjustment could again be had. But he was fundamentally and essentially right in his belief that for the Democratic party to adopt any other than a national attitude would precipitate a conflict which he thought, given time, might be peacefully determined.

But Bleeding Kansas came along to disrupt all Douglas' plans. To be sure, claim jumping, land speculation, the frenzied folly of the frontier fringe, had about as much to do with Bleeding Kansas as did the solemn determination of the Emigrant Aid Society to bless the Border Ruffians with "Beecher's Bibles." But to me the most interesting phase of the Kansas troubles is the great part chance played in the tragic tale.

Suppose, for example, at the very beginning, Franklin Pierce had selected a good man for governor of the territory. Suppose he had put General Geary out there in 1854, rather than the pompous, paunch-bellied, land-crazy Reeder, the whole outcome might have been so different. Geary would have controlled the situation, there would have been no war with the Border Ruffians. There would have been no Sack of Lawrence, John Brown would not have committed his fiendish murders on Pottowatomie, Bleeding Kansas might not have bled.

Of course, Douglas should not be blamed for Pierce's inability to pick good men for governor. He should not be blamed for the imbecility of the Border Ruffian leaders. He should not be blamed for the abstention of the Free State men from voting for delegates to Leecompton. And yet these blunders blasted his career.



For it was popular sovereignty on the plains of Kansas which led to his break with James Buchanan. The President had selected Robert J. Walker for governor of the territory, had a thorough understanding with him as to Kansas policy, had inspected and approved Walker's inaugural. When the governor went West, he spent a day with Douglas in Chicago, and the latter indorsed the indicated course.

But as soon as Walker got into action, Buchanan's enemies in the South sought to make capital of the new Kansas policy, and began the most vigorous assaults, through Walker, upon his presidential chief. Old Buck quailed under the storm, changed his whole policy about Kansas, and Walker was repudiated. When the constitutional convention met at Lecompton, it undertook a trick submission to the people. This was contrary to every pledge, an affront to every syllable of Popular Sovereignty. Douglas was indignant. "We must stand firmly by the principles of the Kansas organic act," he wrote John A. McClernand on November 25. There was but one course to pursue: "*reinstate* the principles of the organic act and the Cincinnati platform by referring the whole matter back to the people. We must stand on this principle and go wherever its logical consequences may carry us, and defend it against all assaults, from any quarter."

This was the spirit in which he went to the White House in December for his famous interview with James Buchanan. He strove with might and main to persuade the President to maintain the Cincinnati platform pledge. But Buchanan, as obstinate as he was weak, threatened the Little Giant with political annihilation. Douglas' reply is historic: "Sir, I would remind you that General Jackson is dead."

Buchanan promptly undertook to annihilate the Senator from Illinois, and his administration mobilized for the



unequal battle. But Douglas did not flinch. Soon some of the Republicans caught the fire of Douglas' spirit, on December 14 made proposals to the Little Giant to come into the ranks of Republican leadership. Colfax of Indiana, and Burlingame of Massachusetts, were the negotiators. Colfax left a memorandum of that meeting.

Douglas told his visitors that he had definitely determined to follow through on the principles he had announced in his Senate speech, "no matter where they led him." He had become convinced that Jefferson Davis and others of the Southrons "were really for disunion and wished an opportunity to break up the Union—that they hoped and worked to unite the South." These efforts must be resisted. The general policy of all Union lovers must be "to put the Disunionists in such a position that, when the breach was made" the Southerners would be the "insurgents, instead of us." With them as "the rebels, the army and the power of the nation would be against them."

Douglas' Republican visitors cautiously hinted the possibility of the Little Giant's leadership of a new party, and warned him that the administration would be sure to force him out of the Democratic party. "I ask no support," Douglas said, "except support in this contest now. If this issue is settled right, new issues will come up hereafter and we will all divide again."

If Kansas should remain the dominant issue, he conceded, disunion efforts might "compel the formation of the great constitutional Union party," but the "future would decide on attitudes and on positions."

This, I think, accurately represents Douglas' real position. He had been amazed at the opposition to what he deemed a simple demand of justice for the people of Kansas. He intended to follow this course through to the end, wherever it might lead. But he was no mercenary ready to sell his sword. He was and would remain a Jackson Democrat.

The Little Giant's campaign for re-election to the Senate represents the one phase of his career that is well known. I shall not undertake to trace its developments, further than to point out that, in practical effect, Douglas was fighting a battle on two points, and that, from April to November, Buchaneers and Black Republicans coöperated in perfect understanding in the effort to defeat him. That even this union of patronage and passion did not succeed is the best evidence one could offer of his hold upon the people's hearts.

I should like to offer a single observation upon the Douglas-Lincoln debates. This concerns the over-famous Freeport question, about which an apparently unconquerable mythology has grown up. The common verdict is that Lincoln's second question at the Freeport meeting destroyed Douglas as a figure of national acceptance. It is contended that Lincoln impaled him on the twin horns of a dilemma: If Douglas agreed that the Dred Scott decision bound any territory to admit a Southerner with his property in slaves, it would destroy his hope of Northern Democratic support. On the other hand, if he continued to maintain his theory of the right of the people to choose—and that is what Popular Sovereignty actually meant—the Southerners would repudiate him completely. In either event, he would be cut from national to sectional support.

Douglas' response, that slavery could not exist for one hour or one minute, unless there were supporting local opinion and local legislation in the territory concerned, was promptly branded as a clever but demagogic evasion of the truth.

In this connection, three things are pertinent. In the first place, before he asked this question, Lincoln knew what would be Douglas' answer. For more than a year the Little Giant had publicly proclaimed the views later noted as his "Freeport Doctrine." On July 16, Lincoln had sat

upon the platform at Bloomington, when Douglas developed his thesis with forceful emphasis. On Lincoln's part, the question was no flash of divine inspiration, no heavenly-placed stone with which a six-foot David could slay a five-foot Goliath. Rather, it represented an effort on Lincoln's part to widen the breach between Douglas and the Danites.

Did Douglas' Freeport doctrine lose him the Southern States at Charleston? That this did happen seems a matter of general and uncritical acceptance. My own researches incline me to believe that it was not Lincoln's Freeport query, but James Buchanan's blind and uncalculating rage which cost Douglas the nomination. America suffered greatly from the defects of character of this pompous, pliable and yet bitter and obstinate President from Pennsylvania. "Old Obliquity," some contemporaries called him, an appellation deserving to endure.

It was not the Freeport question which made Buchanan willing to pull down the pillars of the Democratic temple, but his hatred of the Little Giant, his superior in mind, character and national conception. It was "Old Obliquity," rather than the Freeport question which turned the scales against the Little Giant in the Southern States.

Nor does the subsequent course of our history seem to show that Douglas' answer was evasive demagoguery. Two illustrations will suffice. In the throes of Reconstruction a Radical Congress proposed and Radical and Carpetbag Legislatures ratified the Fifteenth Amendment, designed to assure to the Negro freedmen a social and political equality which great sections of the South were unwilling to accord. Vigorous Federal efforts were made to enforce it, but in the Cotton South, local opinion stood forth sternly against it. The result was that while this amendment is still an integral part of the Constitution, in some areas it remains to this day a nullity in practical effect.

A further example can be had in our late lamented Fed-

eral Prohibition. This marked the adoption of a Federal policy. Our states surrendered to the general government their police power over the liquor traffic. In certain sections, however, there ensued a prompt withdrawal of public consent. In some states public opinion did not sustain it and these states either did not pass, or did repeal local supporting legislation. Wherever this happened, Federal efforts at enforcement proved so inadequate that the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act of Congress became worse than nullities.

These events encourage me to suggest that while in his Freeport Doctrine, Stephen A. Douglas may not have conformed to the logician's dialectic, he did shrewdly read the realities of American public action. Had he been alive, Douglas could have told the Radicals of the 'Seventies that their scheme was doomed to failure, he could have told the Prohibitionists of our own day that their noble experiment would not work. In fact his Freeport doctrine showed Douglas a supreme realist; in fact his answer was founded on a correct appreciation of the actualities of the American plan of self-government.

During 1859, Douglas prepared for the presidential struggle. This, I may add, involved more than personalities—it resolved itself into a contest to determine whether or not the Democratic party would remain on firm national ground, or would yield to the fire-eaters.

As in 1850, the South was divided between the Ultras and the Moderates, and the evidence is very great that the Moderates still constituted a majority of the Southern people. But in 1850, the Unionist leadership had been shrewd, courageous, and had the public confidence, while ten years later the Moderate leadership was quite second-rate. Added to this disadvantage, the Union Democrats must contend against the Buchanan administration, which threw all of the weight of its patronage and influence into the effort to keep



Douglas delegates from being selected. But for this it is by no means certain that Yancey would have been elected to the Charleston convention. Had it not been for Buchanan's orders to his postmasters, attorneys, marshals and the like, in every Southern state, probably the Ultra group would have been too unimportant for its withdrawal from the convention to have mattered.

By what curious alchemy of hate James Buchanan made up his mind that he would prefer a Black Republican to Stephen A. Douglas for President, I do not know. But the sad fact is that Buchanan's hatred of Douglas had its fruit in the split at Charleston, the Sarajevo of the Civil War. This breach in the last great national political organism led inevitably to the election of a sectional President. Following Lincoln's election, the more radical Southern states solemnly began to secede.

Now that it was too late, Buchanan saw the results of his feud with Douglas and repented. But although the Little Giant mourned the undoing of his plans for sectional reconciliation, he did not despair, but employed all of his resourcefulness and ingenuity to try to localize the withdrawals and to prevent the outbreak of war.

During the dark days of December, January and February, Douglas of Illinois and Crittenden of Kentucky associated themselves together in an effort to work out a new constitutional amendment. Radical Republicans and Southern Ultras joined to defeat these plans. Again the extremists of both sections thwarted any middle course.

But Douglas persisted. His active, realistic mind kept making plan after plan to save the situation. One of the most interesting of these plans was one for the perpetual economic union of North and South, regardless of what might occur politically. To his mind economic unity constituted the main reason for the nation's growth and developing greatness. He believed the maintenance of a con-

continent free of tariffs, with a single economic regulation, would inevitably lead to political restoration.

But after he had fashioned his plan, he saw that even though it was based on economic common sense, the fevered spirits of the people would not yield to it. Accordingly, he filed it away among his papers, unproclaimed.

You know the remainder of his brief life, how, on Inauguration Day, he held Lincoln's hat, a symbol of his association with a foe of years, that the Union might be maintained. You will remember how he opposed the expedition to Fort Sumter, but how, after Sumter, he thrilled the North with the demand that the Union be preserved, protected and defended. And then finally, upon Lincoln's asking, Douglas made his last trip to Illinois, where he stirred the people to their duty as he had never stirred the people before. While on this mission he fell ill. And then finally, at the Tremont House in Chicago, he died, his last words being: "Tell my children to obey the laws and uphold the Constitution."

Such was the life and death of this man they called the Little Giant. What now shall we say about his place in history?

He belongs to that gallant group of statesmen who sought some other solution to our slavery problem than the bloody sword of war. He grew up in the tradition of Andrew Jackson and Daniel Webster and Henry Clay. When these giants died, Douglas carried forward the effort to make intelligence rather than emotion the arbiter of our national destiny. To my mind he ranks with Jackson in courage and personal magnetism, as Clay's superior in political finesse, as Webster's peer in the advocacy of economic intelligence, as the superior of any man of the 'Fifties in the genius with which he struggled for the preservation of the Union.

True enough, his great plans crashed down in ruin, in-

flamed minorities called upon the god of battles, and the America of peace and concord had a requiem of battle fire. But it was not of Douglas' causing. Had it not been for the strange mischance of Kansas, and the unhallowed hate of James Buchanan, I do believe that Douglas would have been known in our annals as one who, like Old Hickory, preserved the Union and maintained the nation in peace.

In any event, he was the greatest figure of the 'Fifties—great in friendship, great in mind, great in purpose. He was a glowing meteor flashing through the twilight skies and ending in the lurid flames of war. No wonder, when that spirit fled from his frail body, Lanphier, who loved him deeply, telegraphed to Chicago: "The State claims what is left."

# EARLY INDUSTRIES IN PERRY COUNTY\*

*By*

*PAUL RICH*

## I

Intermingled with the history of Perry County are some widely interesting and picturesque industries, many of which are now extinct. Mining played a predominant part; almost the whole story of coal mining being enveloped in the mines here. The county can boast of having had nearly every kind of coal mine known. There were shaft mines of many different sizes, slope mines, and in recent years, strip mines. The largest shovel in the world is working in the coal fields west of Du Quoin now. Milling, lumbering, and salt wells were also important. The Blakeslee Machine Company held a unique position, because it would compete with modern factories in equipment, and surpass many in the number of really useful machines invented. The first topic will be the old slope mine in St. John.

## II

### ST. JOHN SLOPE

In St. John, just across the railroad tracks from the old store there, the Haliday Company attempted to drill a shaft mine. A dispute arose with the railroad company about an entry which would have to be driven across the tracks.

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\*This essay was awarded first prize in the 1933 statewide competition conducted jointly by the Illinois State Historical Society and the Daughters of the American Revolution, Illinois Chapter.



The railroad company defeated the plan, thereby making a shaft mine very inconvenient. The company decided to sink a slope mine instead. The two main entries were driven into the ground directly eastward, and were about thirty feet apart, with a crosscut for air about every fifty feet. Every bit of the entries was dug by hand, with the aid of hand drills (commonly known as churn drills), sledges, and picks. These entries were about eight feet wide with a vein of coal between six and seven feet thick. The greater part of these entries was cross-timbered to hold the roof, but in spite of these precautions, hot weather often loosened large slugs which fell, causing no little trouble to the workers. Each entry had six cut-offs or cross-entries about fifty yards apart. Each was called by the name of the man who worked it, such as McMann's, Oglivie's, Ferguson's and Jack Van's entries. In all, the mine extended under a territory about a half-mile square.

The outside works of the mine were not very extensive. The coal was hauled up the tippie in cars on a narrow gauge track. This was not very safe to the workers. In the process of dumping the coal, when the car reached the tippie, the couplings being weak, the cars sometimes broke loose and hurtled down the narrow rail. A man named Mike Fitzgerald was killed by one of these runaway cars. Almost every bit of slack was taken from the coal and was hauled to a slackpile a short distance away in mule carts. This slack hill is still on the site of the mine and gives evidence of the extensive work done.

The coal was taken out entirely by hand. Each man had to shoot his own coal. This was accomplished in a crude but effective way. A hole was bored into the coal about three inches deep and was filled with black powder. A fuse (called a greasetail) was made by twisting waxed paper. One end of this was put into the powder, and then a small rock was driven into the hole, as a wedge, to keep

the paper from burning too fast. When this was lit, the worker "beat it." There was no loud explosion, only a "pss-t" sound followed by the falling of the coal. The men then returned to load the coal. They loaded it into cars which held twenty bushels. All of the coal had to be cleaned by hand-riddles before it was taken from the mine. If there was as much as a double handful of dust or slack in a car, the men were fined. This extra precaution insured coal absolutely free of dirt.

During the Civil War the men were paid six cents for every bushel of coal they took out of the mines, and even in those times when coal was scarce, that was a preposterously high wage. It was possible for a worker to load as many as eleven twenty-bushel cars, making his wage for the day about thirteen dollars and twenty cents.<sup>1</sup> The miners were receiving so much money that it was almost impossible to get them to work overtime. They would rather gather around saloons and such places after working hours and waste their money. It was a very familiar scene to see two miners in a drunken brawl, fighting in the streets. Their pay was reduced to five cents a bushel at one time, so they went on a nine months' strike.

The track system in the mine was of an antiquated type. The rails were fashioned from wood with a strip of iron fastened on top to prevent splintering. The switches were made of iron, but were far from perfect.

At the present time a strip mine is working just east of the slope mines. Recently one of the shovels dug into the end of one of the main entries. This shows how shallow these old mines were and gives a better idea of their work.

There was another slope mine about two miles from St. John, but it was not as large, and did not work nearly so many men.

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<sup>1</sup>Wage scale given by Sam Barton, a miner of the old slope mine.

## SHAFT MINES

The shaft mines are not as appealing to us, because they are common now, and were worked and run similar to the present-day ones, but were usually on a smaller scale. They were also drilled by hand, the rock being beaten into small pieces by sledges. The last mine on the prairie to be sunk by hand was the "Holden" shaft. The average size of the shaft of such mines was eight by sixteen feet and from forty to eighty feet deep. In these shallow mines there was no danger from explosion of gas. The only danger was that of black damp caused by insufficient supply of oxygen. Each shaft had two cages, one which came up while the other went down, which were raised and lowered by a small donkey engine. At the bottom of this shaft were the regular entries running in different directions, each with its track. Oil lamps were used then as carbide lamps were still unknown.

Managers of mines were required to work two years in the mines in other than shift work, but in spite of this many were incompetent. A new manager, who was not experienced enough, often made the mistake of trying to take coal out too rapidly thereby causing "squeezes".<sup>2</sup> These resulted in great losses, not only to the output, but also to the regular mine operations.

Strikes were not so common then as now. Each mine had its own union, but there were no great efforts to form one great union until many years later. Several small unions joined together at first, then finally joined with a large union at Belleville.

## HORN'S MINE AND OLD MIDDLE MINE

Horn's mine sold a great deal of coal to the Red X Railroad Company. They paid for this with land in Arkansas

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<sup>2</sup>Statement made by William Swafford, who worked in every mine but two in Perry County and many other states.

which had been given to them by the government as an inducement for building their roads. The Old Middle mine was on the spot where the foundry is now. About forty years ago, a good while after it had been closed, the city decided to cut into it to get water to sprinkle the streets. After a hole was drilled<sup>3</sup> through, the water rose to within eight feet of the surface, giving an excessive supply of water.

### OTHER MINES

Some other mines which are not so important were the Tissue mines, the New Enterprise, from which sand was taken for building purposes, Greenwood's and Browning's mines which supply the water for DuQuoin, the old Eagle mine above St. John, Sam Eaton mines, the Egyptian mine, the Old Lake, the Excelsior, Goddard's mine at Sunfield, and Union Mine No. 2. From 1880-1890 the average pay in those mines was from two dollars to two dollars and fifty cents a day.

## III

### SALT WELLS IN ST. JOHN

Another thriving industry was the salt wells at St. John. There were seven of these wells at one time. The largest, however, produced most of the salt. The salt trust bought up these wells so that it would have a monopoly on the salt industry.

The largest of these wells used a seven inch pipe to pump the salt water from the underground stream. Large pumps pumped the water into huge reservoirs. Then the water was pumped into boilers. There were about fourteen of them, each covering a ten foot space. Copper pipes ran

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<sup>3</sup>W. Swafford drilled into the old mine after another man had given up as too dangerous.



through these by which the water was heated. After most of the water was evaporated, the salt was put on drying boards to get thoroughly dried. Then it was taken to the refinery and prepared for the market.

At one time this was a very progressive industry employing a great number of men, but other huge deposits of salt were found in other states and it was found that the salt could be sold much more cheaply so the wells gradually dried out, and in 1904 gave way to newer and better mines.

## IV

### SPRIGG GRIST MILL

Ben Sprigg owned and operated a grist mill in DuQuoin. He made a small mine of his own to furnish coal to run his mill. He took coal from under the location of the J. B. Ward School. His mill was quite large for that time, and was operated by steam.

### RED HOOP MILL

The Red Hoop Mill, owned by Kimmel and Onstot, was the largest mill in Perry County. It ground most of the grain for farmers, and also shipped thousands and thousands of barrels of flour. It burned to the ground in 1924 in one of the most spectacular fires ever seen here. The firemen were on duty for twenty-four hours<sup>4</sup>, yet practically nothing was salvaged.

### THE APPLE DRYING COMPANY

The apple drying company was successful for two summers. It handled from fifteen to twenty carloads of apples a day and in the busiest season employed more than twenty

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<sup>4</sup>This happened while the department was using city pressure, otherwise a greater part might have been saved.

girls. The company had some trouble, closed the factory, and left.

## V

### BLAKESLEE MANUFACTURING COMPANY

The Blakeslee Manufacturing Company at one time had promise of being one of DuQuoin's leading industries, but poor management caused it to be closed about thirty years ago. It specialized in many kinds of machinery, especially in pumps. The factory was divided into a moulding department, pattern shop, and all the departments necessary for making every part of the many different machines. About thirty men were employed, the highest pay besides that of the foreman was two dollars a day<sup>5</sup>.

A. J. Blakeslee, the owner of the plant, was a successful inventor. He invented and made the first veneering machine, which was used in Cobden for making strawberry boxes and other things. He also invented the jet pump, made Duplex pumps, nearly all smaller types of engines, and saw mill engines.

### MISCELLANEOUS

George Pugh's marble shop was quite large at one time with five men employed. Ward Brothers were owners of the largest livery business ever in DuQuoin. A small laundry in the northeast portion of DuQuoin flourished for a while, but soon went out of business. The Eaton machine shop was a progressive industry, but it did not come up to the standard of Blakeslee's.

Perry County, although not ranking high among the leaders now in the number of interesting industries, was

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<sup>5</sup>Ed Wright started working there as a foreman for \$4.35 a week.

literally a beehive of them in its early days. Its citizens should be proud of this old record, and should try to bring it back to, and even above its old standard. The study of the old industries is an education in itself, and gives one a broader view of the industrial workings of our country. May our county flourish in every way in the future, thereby presenting a past even more interesting than this one!

## NOTE

I wish to acknowledge my debt to the following men: Sam Barton, who worked in St. John slope mine, Horn's Mine, Paradise slope, Goddard's Mine and Davis' Mine; Miles McCollum, who worked in Tissue Mine, St. John slope mine, Eagle Mine, Browning Mines, Greenwood Mines, Majestic Mines, Forester's Mine; William Wilkison, whose experience included the Middle Mines, Old Man Dick, Goddard's Mine, Eagle Mine and Tissue Mine; William Swafford, who worked in every mine in Perry County except two; Howard Forester, supervisor of salt wells; E. Wright, who worked in the Blakeslee Manufacturing Co.; Sam Clark; and E. Flynn, state supervisor of mines.

THE SECOND ILLINOIS  
IN THE MEXICAN WAR  
MEXICAN WAR LETTERS  
OF ADOLPH ENGELMANN, 1846-1847

*Translated and Edited by*  
OTTO B. ENGELMANN

Adolph Engelmann, who wrote the letters which follow, enlisted in Company H of the Second Regiment of Illinois Foot Volunteers at the outbreak of the Mexican War. He was mustered into the service of the United States at Alton, Illinois, on June 16, 1846. On the following day he was elected Second Lieutenant. The company was composed in large part of young Germans from St. Clair County, and was commanded by Captain Julius Raith.

In mid-July the First and Second Illinois regiments were put on transports for New Orleans. Gen. John E. Wool of the U. S. Regular Army was in command. Late in the month they reached New Orleans, where they reshipped for Port Lavacca on the Gulf of Mexico. Thence they marched to San Antonio, which they reached in late August, 1846.

A month later the march was resumed. Engelmann's letters record and describe the route—San Antonio, Presidio on the Rio Grande, Monclova, Parras, Saltillo, and finally, Buena Vista, where the Second Illinois passed under the command of General Zachary Taylor.

On February 23, 1847, the Battle of Buena Vista was fought. This was the only engagement of the war in which the Second Illinois participated, but its conduct on this occasion was all that any commander could ask. In his



report of the battle General Taylor commended it in these words: "The First and Second Illinois, and the Kentucky regiments served immediately under my eye, and I bear a willing testimony to their excellent conduct throughout the day . . . . The list of casualties will show how much these three regiments suffered in sustaining the heavy charge of the enemy in the afternoon . . . . Col. Bissell, the only surviving colonel of the three regiments, merits notice for his coolness and bravery on this occasion." At Buena Vista the Second Illinois lost sixty-two killed and sixty-nine wounded. Among the latter was Adolph Engelmann. The wound prevented him from returning to active service, and on May 23, 1847, he left on a furlough which lasted until his company was discharged.

Adolph Engelmann was a son of Theodor Friedrich and Elizabeth Engelmann, who settled in St. Clair County in 1833, when he was seven years old. Two years later his sister Sophie married Gustave Koerner, in whose home in Belleville Adolph lived in order that he might take advantage of the city schools. Later he read law in Koerner's office, and was practising in Belleville at the time of his enlistment.

The profession of arms had a strong appeal for Adolph Engelmann. In 1850, he enlisted in the army of Schleswig-Holstein and served until the following year, when both government and army were dissolved. In the fall of 1861, he helped Julius Raith, his company commander in the Mexican War, organize the 43rd Illinois, and became its Lieutenant Colonel. When Colonel Raith was killed, Engelmann succeeded to the command of the regiment, and served in this capacity until December, 1864, when the term of his enlistment expired.

The letters which follow were written in German because of the inability of the writer's parents to read English at

that time.<sup>1</sup> In order to facilitate delivery they were addressed to Gustave Koerner. If the translation seems stilted, it is because the translator is not an old hand at the job.

ALTON, ILL.;

Tues. Morn, June 7th, 1846.

DEAR PARENTS,

We arrived here yesterday evening about an hour before sundown having stopped in St. Louis merely long enough to partake of the refreshments to which the Messrs. Jacobi treated the Company.

As soon as I could get leave I went to Decker's where I had my lunch, then started for Decker's office to get him to come see the Company, but on the way heard that it had already gone down the river so I took Caroline to Kribbon's and said goodbye.

The 17th.

Our first supper and breakfast we had at the Franklin House—but since then we have been living very well on bread, ham and coffee in our quarters, a large stone house of nine rooms besides the kitchen and cellar.

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<sup>1</sup>Through the generosity of Mr. Otto B. Engelmann the original letters are now in the Illinois State Historical Library.—Ed.

Today we elected a Third Lieutenant on the off chance that we might need one, and our Subalterns. When Kettler heard that we were to elect a Third Lieutenant he withdrew from the race against me for Orderly Sergeant and bid for the Lieutenancy. Result—Stock 48, Kettler 28, Fritz 5—the balance of the men remaining neutral. I voted for Stock. I was elected Orderly Sergeant [Feld Webel] without opposition. R. Morrison was elected Second Sergeant; Chas. Gominsky Third Sergeant; Fridolin Schetterer Fourth Sergeant; Schlotterbach First Corporal; Chas. Gooding Second Corporal; Emig Third Corporal and Waldman Fourth Corporal.

Today a Quincy company arrived and in it F. Richter. I've been too busy to see him but when we get things in shape and better acquainted with our duties I hope to have more leisure. There are now seven companies here. Our "Co. A" is first on the list, one from Alton, one Randolph company, one Edwardsville, one Chicago, one Quincy, two St. Clair companies. Ours is the only company that can move at command and yesterday we were issued our muskets.

ALTON;

July 6, 1846.

DEAR PARENTS,

Just rec'd. the long expected and hoped for news that we are to leave for the scene of war soon, probably Sunday. Tomorrow morning, Gen. Churchhill U. S. A. will inspect

and muster us into the federal service. On the last of June Bissell<sup>2</sup> was elected Colonel—not unanimously but without opposition. On July 1st, our battalion, two companies from St. Clair County and three from Madison County elected Morrison Major<sup>3</sup>. Our Company then elected Raith in Morrison's place as Captain, Niles in Raith's place, and myself in Niles' place as Second Lieutenant. The Second Battalion elected Trail of Monroe County. As I will not be as busy as Second Lieutenant as I was as Orderly Sergeant I will have more time to write. Just now our "premier" Lieutenant returned from town with the word that the Second and Third Regiments being from the southern part of the state and therefore more accustomed to the heat would be the first to move toward the seat of the war. It might be the fact that we have Democrats for Colonels had something to do with it.

Am using a bench for a table and a stick of stove wood for a stool. Our camp is well located; large oaks spread fine shade with a gentle breeze, there being no underbrush. The health of the company as well as its spirit has improved wonderfully since here in camp, personally I have put on weight though I haven't gotten fleshier. Yesterday evening we had a very sudden storm with heavy rain as you can see by this letter. It also started one of the large oaks which threatened to fall on several tents. The men gathering around arguing whether it would fall or not, and if so if it would hit the tents. Capt. Raith noticed it and ordered the men to take down the tents whereupon there was considerable growling on the part of some of the men. But the tents were hardly out of the way when the tree came down also.

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<sup>2</sup>William H. Bissell, Governor of Illinois, 1857-60.

<sup>3</sup>James L. D. Morrison.



The 13th.

I was interrupted and have found no time to take up my pen. Jacob<sup>4</sup> has been here several days and no doubt notices things which no longer attract my attention, which may nevertheless interest you. In the future I will try to write more regularly.

STEAMER GALVESTON.

July 28—(About-at  
least it is Tuesday).

DEAR PARENTS,

My last letter was mailed at Cairo<sup>5</sup> at which place our OBER-FELD-HERR Wool joined us, from appearances you would rather take him for a preacher than a soldier.

The gradual passing into the southern climate was very interesting to me otherwise I cannot say I enjoyed the trip, for while we officers lived high, the men being in crowded quarters suffered much from the heat. On last Thursday eve we arrived at New Orleans but put off again at once going to the battlefield of Jan. 8, 1814 where we made camp. On Friday eve I took passage on a steamer to New Orleans on arriving I hired a cabriolet and began my hunt for Peter E.<sup>6</sup> but as the driver did not know the street on which, according to the city directory, Peter lived, I gave it up for the time being, especially as I ran across the Captain and another man from our company. So we took a drive and saw the city ending up at Lake Pontchatrain

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<sup>4</sup>A brother of the writer.

<sup>5</sup>This letter and no doubt others are missing.

<sup>6</sup>An uncle of the writer.

where we had supper—fish, champagne, etc. It was late in the morning when we took a room at the St. Charles Hotel and turned in for a nap. The next morning I renewed my search for Peter and finally found him. He and his family are well. About noon I returned to camp. New Orleans came up to every expectation, but my trip was rather expensive, I was there 18 hours, and spent better than \$20.00 for which I have nothing to show but a case of “Katzenjammer” which I took back to camp with me. Sunday eve we had a bad storm, in a moment nearly all the tents were down and everything was wet even in those that remained standing. The water stood several inches deep everywhere for the ground is very flat.

Yesterday evening after dark our company and two others embarked on the steamer *Galveston*. Gen. Wool and Col. Morrison are with us. At 10:00 this morning we got out of sight of land, there being very little wind we have as yet no seasickness. Scheel is well, he says he is as well as I am but that is hardly possible. I left Belleville weighing 163 now I weigh 174 and no more fat.

I want to mail this at Galveston tomorrow and the boat trembles so from the engines it is hard to write.

PORT LA VACCA;

Aug. 1st, 1846.

DEAR PARENTS,

An hour ago our journey by water came to an end. In a few days we start our march for San Antonio. Judging from conversation with Gen. Wool we should leave San Antonio for the Mexican border by the 20th. Our trip so far has

been very pleasant and uneventful. We stopped at Galveston two days, it is made up of frame houses, with some 3 to 4,000 population, one half of whom are Germans. Just heard that because of the rain which is falling we will not land tonight.

CAMP LA VACCA;

Aug. 3rd, 1846.

DEAR PARENTS,

The day after I wrote you last we disembarked from the steamboat and put twelve miles of our march behind us. We had only gone a few miles when it began to rain quite heavy which continued until we reached this camp, established by troops which came ahead of us. Our way led over the prairie which reminds one of the prairies of Illinois. We did not see a single house but plenty of deer and one Mexican Indian.

From the boat, before landing, we could see the landing place of the German "Adels Colonie," a little settlement of six to eight houses called "Indian Point," round about as far as one could see were the tents and grass huts of the settlers. On our march here we passed one of their camps. They had nothing to eat, their tents were full of holes, and they could find no work. Our coming was a blessing to them, all our teamsters, in fact most of the civilians with us are Germans of the Adels Colony. Our camp is on a prairie at the edge of a strip of timber 100 yards wide through which meanders a deep clear stream. The trees are covered with Spanish moss, and a grape of color and size comparable

with the larger black grapes in our vineyard, but when it comes to taste, that is a different matter.

We haven't moved since the march mentioned at the beginning of this letter, because of lack of transport wagons and it will probably be several days before we do. Game seems plentiful on the prairie, several hunting parties have gone out, but with little result. Those of our Regiment got three deer, those of our company got NOTHING! Fishing in the brook at our camp is better, it seems to be easy to catch several kinds of fish and eel. The evening of the day we arrived here Capt. Raith rode out on a hunt, at dusk his horse came galloping in without the rider or saddle and with broken bridle. In a moment the camp was in an uproar. Rumors of "Commanchies" and some claimed to see blood on the horse. Colonel, Lieutenant Colonel and Adjutants armed with pistols and swords, mounted in haste and galloped off in the direction from which the riderless horse had come. In an half hour they returned with the Captain and his saddle. He had dismounted to shoot at a deer and in remounting his saddle came off and his horse got away—some climax!

Aug. 10th.

Since writing the above we have moved camp—one mile—and that to the rear, toward La Vacca and we camped with the First Ill. Vols. together with whom we form a Brigade, commanded by Col. Hardin<sup>7</sup>.

Every day, so far, which we have spent in Texas we have

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<sup>7</sup>John J. Hardin of Jacksonville, Colonel of the First Illinois. He was killed at the Battle of Buena Vista.



had a heavy rain, without enough sunshine to dry out our stuff. It is very cool for this time of year—about like Illinois in early June. As a consequence the health of the troops is poor, diarrhea, fever of various sorts and measles are prevalent. Only a few are as well as I am. Before we were brigaded with the 1st Ill. each officer had a tent to himself, since coming here we had to give up a tent for the use of the sick. Raith and Niles still [have] one apiece but Stock and I [are] together. As long as I had one to myself Wedekind and Esinger slept in my tent. Esinger is dirty and withall—feminine and always speaking of a Madame Schoeder so we have named him that, in fact practically every one has a nickname and goes by that to the exclusion of his real one.

Today a bridge was thrown across Placcedes Creek and tomorrow we are to resume our march to San Antonio. The politicians who picked our Colonel for us have no thanks coming from us. He is lazy, careless, does not understand his duties or is afraid to undertake them, and on horse back he is a sight. All in all he is a “black eye” for Illinois. For political reasons they loaded Bissell off on us and we will have to put up with him. While Morrison is far from perfect he is so far better an officer that he is the favorite of the Regiment.

CAMP IRWIN;

Aug. 10, 1846.

Near Port La Vacca.

DEAR PARENTS,

A quarter of an hour ago I sent a letter to be mailed at La Vacca; just now hear that a group of men being dis-

charged on account of their poor health are about to leave for Illinois in charge of one of the men of the medical corps so I am hurrying to send you a few lines by this means, which at least is as reliable as the mail service in this God-forsaken land. Well here I am in the sunny south land with its soft breezes and I am having my fill of the long wished-for experience of camp life. I wish you could spend a day in camp and follow us in our activities from early dawn till dark. They are so interwoven that in following one only, one gets the wrong impression—but must view it as a whole.

You may be surprised to hear me say that Raith is the one man upon whom I can rely under all circumstances. He is absolutely trustworthy and in the two Regiments here there is no one to compare to him in determination, ability and common sense. Since leaving Belleville I've met a good many men but none to whom I am particularly drawn.

CAMP 30 MILES FROM VICTORIA  
ON THE ROAD TO SAN ANTONIO.

As we got rather sudden orders to move I was too busy to avail myself of the opportunity of sending this with the detail (nine in number) returning to Illinois. On the morning of the 11th we broke camp and proceeded across the Placedes via a bridge constructed the day before. This stream while only some 15 ft. wide was over a man's head due to heavy rains. Our battalion acted as guiding flank for the day, that is the rest of the troops got their line of march from us. So after we were across the bridge we had to wait till the rest were across whereupon we formed in

four columns with the transport wagons between—before us the unbroken prairie, back of us the woods with tent of a lone German immigrant. It really was a spectacular sight as we slowly moved forward. But the thrill of the picture was soon lost in the wearisomeness of the march. We had not gone far when we came to a swamp through which we marched up to our knees in water, and then it began to rain, and we [had] 18 miles of this before we came to dry land. On the way many of the men became exhausted and could no longer carry their packs. I took the first man's, the Captain the next and so through general helpfulness, each doing his best, nightfall found our company 22 miles from our last camp. One of the oxen pulling our wagon of rations, tents, and baggage having fallen exhausted, the wagoner had to return for another. But we were no worse off than the others; many did not get in until the next day, bringing with them many men who had fallen out from exhaustion enroute. To take the place of the coffee issue each man was given one third pint of whiskey. Assistant Commissary Sergeant Friedlander, who had come ahead the day before shared his blankets with Stock and myself and in spite of being soaking wet from the rain and swamp we slept mighty sound. The next day I had a special detail to command and it gave me an opportunity to see first hand the evil of strong drink even in a small measure. By evening we had twenty men in the guard house, among them our First Sergeant Kettler, whom at the order of Captain Raith I placed there for, while drinking, calling Lieutenant Stock a coward. All night long there was a frightful racket in the guard house; we had three soldiers at each door to guard against the prisoners escaping, nevertheless two of them got out by way of the chimney and later returned by the same route with two bottles of whiskey whereupon the whole crowd got drunk again with the exception of Kettler.

The next day we started to ferry across the Guadalupe,

a little larger than the Kaskaskia. It took this pesky little ferry three days to get two regiments across—first oxen then the wagons and finally the men. The Guadalupe bottoms are just as muddy as the "American bottoms" will ever be. A few miles before we found good dry prairie. A few miles farther on we came to a fine clear creek with a gravel bottom but not a tree in sight on either bank. Through this we waded and a little later came to a small river possibly a little larger than the Silver Creek, called Colleto and here made camp. Here we saw and heard for the first time in one night, scorpions, tarantulas, "thousand leggers," rattle snakes, wolves and panthers. The next morning one of the men was bitten by a tarantula which had gotten into his boot, he suffered severe pain all day. The crossing of the Colleto was truly a drama, the many wagons and men in the water, the commands of the officers, the cries of the teamsters, whole companies of men taking off their trousers at one time and then pulling them on again and all in the best of humor.

At Victoria most of the companies, ours included, got wagons to haul their rations, but because the Quartermaster of both regiments monopolized the ferry across the Guadalupe our company, as a matter of safety, carried its rations till we got to the Colleto where our wagons caught up with us.

We left the Colleto in fine spirits and marched for several hours the men joking and talking on the way across the prairie. However with the approach of the noon hour it was different. The canteens were empty, the sun burned frightfully and as far as eye could see not a single tree to offer protection against the heat and glare. The ground was either sand or quagmire (morass) from which one could not get a drop of drinkable water. This continued until about four o'clock at which time we came to some open woods not far from where ——— was murdered by the Mexicans.



After a short rest in the very welcome shade we moved on till we came to the very fine creek where we are now resting. I spent the balance of the afternoon lying in the water and felt much refreshed. All through the night, stragglers who had dropped out on the march during the heat of the day continued to come in. A lot of hunters went out today and some have returned though without game, except two hind quarters of a deer which Kettler shot far out on the prairie (some of the men say he found it).

PRAIRIE CAMP.

August 21st.

DEAR PARENTS,

After a day of rest we had a very fine and highly interesting march, for the first time we passed through surroundings of genuine beauty. It was as though we were passing through a large orchard, the trees reminded me of our apple (live oak) and peach (musque) trees and it seemed as though they had been planted in rows. Several miles away on the bluffs across the San Antonio we saw the ruined towers of Labadie, at one time it must have had a good many inhabitants, though now it is entirely deserted. Most prominent are the walls of a church which was 100 feet long and, no doubt, correspondingly high, but there are also the ruins of many large stone houses. We passed Goliath, consisting of two frame houses. I saw a rather good looking Texas lady sitting at the window—chewing tobacco! While we are only a few miles from the San Antonio River it will be several days before we see it again. Today we saw cactus in fruit for the first time. It resembles

the fig somewhat in appearance and taste. That night five of our company had fever and we blamed it on the cactus pears. The next morning it was said we would only march seven miles. Consequently the men moved off in good spirits and did not save on their water. After going at least 10 miles we halted at noon on a hill, with no running water in sight. A half mile away however was a swamp, green scum around the edges but clear in the center. I would not have believed that swamp water could taste so good. Word was passed, "Only three miles more" but after going six, Col. Hardin said, "We have only two miles more to travel boys," which Bissell who is merely Hardin's echo repeated. Now we have considerable cursing at both Colonels. "God damn you and your 'only seven miles travel today boys', 'by God I'd just as leave kill you as I would a dog,' " and similar expressions on all sides. We again move on in hopes of finding some running water, as we had encountered only swamp water since early morning, but finally with the coming of night we had to make camp.

None of our transport wagons arrived that night, no tents, no rations, and so the men had to spend the night beside the stinking water with only such blankets as they had and what they had saved from their dinners to eat. The Quincy Riflemen were among the few lucky ones to have their wagons come in during the night, and as I have friends among them I spent the balance of the night with them and had coffee for breakfast, while the poor devils in our regiment had only bacon and flour.

About half the men were in the camp proper, the rest were scattered, some small groups under the trees, but mainly in three groups as much as ten miles to the rear. Both regiments were in such disorder one might have thought we had lost a battle, the soldiers having lost all confidence in the regimental officers because of the false statements they made concerning the distance to go. Only

Morrison retains their trust for whenever asked, "How much farther," he always replied, "I can't tell." After breakfast, what remained of the companies marched one and a half miles farther to a nice little creek where we lay the balance of the day to give the rest of the men and the wagons a chance to catch up with us. The extreme exertions of the few days caused a great deal of sickness. One southern company commanded by Capt. Webb had only 19 men fit for duty. The conditions were such that at a conference of Captains and regimental officers held that night it was decided to leave the sick, together with Capt. Webb and the well men of his company to look after them, behind with such conveniences as we could arrange. Lieut. Niles remained to help Webb as all his officers were either sick or gone on detail. Nine men of our company stayed including Kettler, who either is sick or claims to be in the hopes of getting discharged.

The next morning we again started on our march, our route leading us through open woods, reminding one of an endless orchard spread over hill and valley. We had not gone many miles when a messenger arrived from General Wool (who had gone ahead to San Antonio) to Col. Hardin who as senior Colonel was in command, asking, for urgent reasons that a company of sharpshooters be sent to him with all speed, and to expedite matters sent a couple of mule skimmers (with team) because they can travel twice the distance per day that oxen can. Col. Hardin selected the Quincy Riflemen for this duty.

On this day as we were rolling up our pants preparing to wade a small branch, Barthel Walzer (who was Ledergerber servant in Paris) was stung on the knee by a scorpion. Upon the advice of the doctor he put some chewing tobacco on the sting and it did not hurt him any more than a wasp sting. That evening we camped on the San Antonio, a small but wild and turbulent stream with the best water

we have had since leaving Alton. All this time we have seen many deer but here they came within sight of the camp and stared at us. The night before Wilver shot one, this evening Croesman shot another, and Col. Morrison gave us three fourths of one so there was an abundance of venison in our company.

Max<sup>8</sup> sleeps, eats, drinks, and cooks with Capt. Raith; this evening he baked some bread that was so heavy that it caused much joking, he claimed he was preparing to use it in place of lead to make bullets to shoot deer. The next day we had a good march, making camp at about four P. M. near two Mexican houses made of logs set upright in the ground and roofed with limbs covered with ground on which grass was growing. The only difference between Mexican men and mulattoes lies in the straight coarse hair of the Mexican. That being the case we wonder at the white complexion of their women, who look just like ours.

Our wagon having gotten behind and not coming in until late, to kill time I walked along the creek and found the largest and finest grapes I have seen and ate until I was about to burst. The Mexicans here have little corn fields but many horses, sheep, goats and cattle.

Yesterday morning we only marched six miles but that through wonderfully fine surroundings. We had not gone far when large numbers of deer came running to within 200 steps of our column, upward of a hundred shots were fired at them but without hurting the deer.

Today as we were marching up a hill, suddenly "Adjutant Call" and then "Officers Call" were sounded and then all the commands possible given, and the only possible solution was that both regiments were to form in battle line when they reached the top of the hill. This troop movement caused much conjecture among the men. Some said Coman-

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<sup>8</sup>Scheel.



ches others Mexicans were on yon side of the hill. Arriving at the top orders were to form a "wheel" [Karres] and as our regiment had never done this and Bissell did not understand the movement Hardin had to explain it to him. When we finally had the maneuver complete Bissell was in the center, which he no doubt thought was a safe place in time of danger. There being no running water we dug some wells 14 ft. deep and soon had some drinkable water.

Again we have considerable sickness (among them Max), and I would not be surprised if we had another sick detail before we make the remaining 45 miles to San Antonio.

#### CAMP ON THE SAN ANTONIO;

Aug. 22.

Early this morning we had a dense fog and while it soon broke up the sun made it very sultry and though we only marched 10 miles the men complained much.

We arrived here at noon, an hour later our wagons came in, and we had barely gotten our tents up when it began to rain and is still at it. Unless it lets up it will be impossible to do any cooking for supper.

Another messenger from Gen. Wool arrived with the information that the country around San Antonio was swarming with Indians with hostile intentions, and Wool's orders are to make all possible haste, so just now I hear that we are to get up at half past one tomorrow and be ready to march at three.

CAMP AT SAN ANTONIO.

Aug. 26.

The rain stopped in time for us to cook some coffee before going to sleep and early the next morning we had breakfast and the tents down and with the other baggage loaded on the wagons and we were on our way before the first sign of dawn in the east.

The morning was overcast and cool and by ten o'clock we had made 15 miles, the greatest distance our transport can cover in a day.

On the way we passed two farms the buildings of which were similar to those at which we camped lately but the land was under better cultivation and much more of it. We again camped on the San Antonio, in the vicinity of several farms. We saw a number of Indians who said they were camped less than a mile away, so I and many others visited the camp, comprising several families, who had all their belongings under shelters made of buffalo hides. Their bows, shields and guns were set up against the trees. A cradle, made of deer skin stretched over a hoop, hung under one tree. Here we heard that their main camps were a quarter of a mile on the other side of the river, so all of us who could swim stripped to our under breeches and crossed. Here we found several hundred, their camp scattered over considerable ground. The men were having a drinking match [Saufgelag] and playing cards while the women were drying grapes, pumpkin and meat in the sun. Then they pulverized this on deerskins, using stones to grind it, and having mixed and made cakes of it they again dried them. The men were naked except for a breech cloth and wore their hair long—in a braid, the chief's reaching to the ground. The women wore moccasins, leggings, a short skirt and a sort of deer skin shawl. They were Le Peigns, well

built, good looking and their speech sounds pleasant. Their tents were made some of hides, some of cotton cloth.

On the 24th we again broke camp at daybreak and while that camp was but 18 miles from San Antonio and the one we made that eve only two miles from the city nevertheless we did not see a single house. This camp had been used by Col. Harney who marched for Mexico some time ago and in some of the tents we found sick soldiers, left without anyone to nurse them. It is to be hoped Wool will look after them. Close by were two old churches. I visited the nearest, built in 1794 by Catholic missionaries. Some of the men read the date 1784, 1754 and even 1734 but to me it looks like 1794. However it is now in ruins and if I get the opportunity I will sketch them and send to you. I climbed all through and over the heavy walls, even onto the roof which was overgrown with cactus and small trees. One of the volunteers even climbed up the tower and brought down the cross, but on the order of the Colonel promptly put it back, and was placed under arrest.

The next morning we again broke camp and came to this camp three miles above the city where I hope we will stay until we start for Chihuahua. We came through a part of the city and stopped briefly to give the men the opportunity to see the spot where Crocket fell. These ruins are called "Alamo" after the nearby poplar trees, so called by the Spaniards. The walls everywhere show bullet holes and the men dug out a good many.

In the morning, just before we broke camp, a sergeant in Dodge's company (which always lies to our left) fired his musket, the bullet passed between the men of our company who were gathered around our staked packs but it went through a pack on which one of them sat, then through a board and buried itself two inches between the fellow and

the tire of our transport wagon. It is a wonder that the bullet with its terrific force did not kill several men.

Our camp here is on the open, level ground, lying between the bluffs on one side and a fine deep, cool, crystal-clear branch on the other. There is a bit of timber along the creek. Generally speaking, the land we have seen on our march here cannot compare with our Illinois prairies, it being too sandy. On the other hand we passed over some fairly large stretches which should compare very favorably with the American Bottoms. The scarcity of timber will no doubt be the greatest drawback to the development of the agricultural regions. The biggest timber we saw on our way here was the three mile wide strip on the Guadalupe. Along the San Antonio it is often less than a half-mile wide and along the creeks it is often merely brush. The musque and live oak one sees everywhere on the prairie are small, brushy, jug-shaped which makes them remind one of fruit trees.

While we suffered from the heat on several days, for example the 14th and 17th, yet it must be admitted that on the whole it has not been as hot as in Alton. Every morning at about nine o'clock a little breeze comes up that keeps the air fresh, the nights are always cool, sometimes cold. On our trip here we quite often suffered thirst, but our most general complaint has been in regard to our Subsistence Department. The U. S. issues each man every day  $1\frac{1}{4}$  lb. fresh meat or  $\frac{3}{4}$  lb. dried or salt meat; 18 oz. flour or 1 lb. bread;  $\frac{1}{6}$  pt. beans or  $\frac{1}{8}$  lb. rice; 1 oz. coffee, 2 oz. sugar; salt, vinegar, soap and candles. According to army regulations flour is a garrison issue only, hardtack to take its place in the field. But on our march the men only got meat, flour, coffee and occasionally sugar. As on the march the men had no opportunity to properly bake their bread, they had to eat it half-baked, doughy; as there was no issue of beans or rice



and nothing to take their place, the men often went hungry. Vinegar which is so refreshing in hot weather, and soap so essential to cleanliness were both impossible to get. Candles and sugar which were issued sparingly early on the march were later not to be had. Now the men are building a bake oven, under direction of Wilver, in which as long as we are here Emig will bake for the company. The officers cannot draw their rations as such but are paid 20c a day which is supposed to buy what they need at fixed prices from the commissary. Bacon is 15c, beef 7c, coffee 13c, sugar 10c, rice 10c per lb.; you notice the more necessary the higher the price. Fortunately for me, since we are in Texas I have been able to get into a mess that gets by with the allowance of 20c per man as allowed. With the exception of Stock and myself the mess is made up of Americans: M. J. Kirk, R. Morrison, Chas. Gooding, Louis Buyatte, Jas. West and Jas. Francis. Niles messes with Lemon's company and Raith has a servant and keeps house for himself.

While there has been a paymaster here for a long time I have not been able to draw any pay; hear that it will be the middle of September before any money gets here to pay off with. Day before yesterday Dr. Price overtook us. It is a damn shame to have such officers.

Since Jacob was to see me in Alton I have had no word from home. Please write to me, I will get the letters all right. The address I gave you will reach me—Adolph Engelmann, 2nd Regt. Ill. Vol., San Antonio, Texas.

Awhile ago a couple of Gen. Wool's staff officers came and ordered our camp moved back 150 steps, which means that all the work the men have done on the company bake oven is wasted. The idea being to use this ground for parade ground. Believe me the men sure gave those staff officers the devil.

Mon. Aug. 31, 1846.

Some of the men who have been to town say that the paymaster has gone on a trip and so, while some mail arrived today I do not know if I got a letter from home for with the paymaster gone the P. office is closed.

Our camp was only moved 80 steps instead of 150 and by this most gracious permission we saved our oven and can now eat baked bread.

Two days after our arrival a company of infantry and two troops of cavalry (Regular Army) came and camped beside us and from the right wing of the camp. Two days later again a regiment of Arkansas cavalry under Col. Yell arrived.

As soon as the needed arms arrive six companies of this regiment will be equipped as dragoons and four companies as riflemen. A regiment of Texas rangers is camped about a mile from us (nearer San Antonio) who also arrived after we did. Some of the rangers found a band of Indians in San Antonio, who had killed a Mexican family on the Rio Grande, excepting two grown girls whom they brought with them and offered for sale to the Volunteers. When the leader tried to get away one of the rangers knocked all his teeth down his throat with the butt of his gun.

Every day Bissell makes bad mistakes in giving commands, will not admit it, and takes it out on the officers and men by being very short and bitterly tyrannical.

Our surroundings are a peculiar mixture of age and decay on one hand and youth and growth on the other. Everywhere one sees ruins of large buildings connected with the history of the country which is really very impressive.

The young men and women gather every evening to dance in the plazas of the most peculiarly built city.

And now we have Price saddled onto us. It is a shame that people who should be in earnest concerning this war

seem to be all for "humbug" and "bunkum." The most extraordinary rumors are afloat around here one does not know what to believe.

## CAMP CROCKETT NEAR S. A.

Sept. (?).

Nothing of interest or importance has occurred since I last wrote, but I look for something to happen in a day or two. Very likely we go to Presidio to surprise a party of Mexicans who lately drove out two companies of Texans. We are still located as before and indications are that most of the troops will be here for some time, only our four companies are to go to Presidio.

I have not been back to San Antonio, mainly because I have been unable to draw any pay and do not care to go to town without money in my pocket.

Lindheimer<sup>9</sup> called on us lately and told me that on the way to New Braunfels where he lives there were several picturesque spots and furthermore promised, that if I would go with him as far as Cívolo creek, ten miles from here, he would show me a plant, plentiful in West Texas, whose root is one of the best cures for the diarrhea, which is so prevalent with us. So taking him at his word I left camp with him early next morning, and going about seven miles we came to the Salav, nearly dry. But about a mile to the right of where we first found it we came to high rock cliff at whose foot we found a long lake whose shore was lined with cane and other swamp plants as high as one's head forming a real jungle. We saw some horses in the cane

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<sup>9</sup>A German friend of the Engelmanns who had settled in Texas.

which the alligators had caught. Lindheimer insisted that he even saw an alligator but I couldn't. Ducks and herons were very plentiful, as were bear tracks and Lindheimer assured me that there were also many catamounts, leopards and panthers. After eating some persimmons we turned back two miles where from a rise in the ground we could see a range of hills, apparently only one mile away, but after going four miles we were still a mile away but at the fifth mile we finally arrived at the foot of Pilot Peak probably 400 feet high, from the top of which we had a wonderful outlook to all sides, for many miles the prairie lay before us. Four miles farther and we came to the Civoło. Where we came to it there was no running water, just here and there a pool, but twenty miles above and five below this is a rather large stream, remarkable how a stream can so lose itself in the sand and gravel and then reappear. There were some very interesting rock formations here. The anti-diarrhea plant Lindheimer failed to find but he did show me some interesting plants, including a small grape vine which he assured me bore small but good grapes. Deer we saw in great plenty—shot at a fine buck but hit him too low in the shoulders to hurt him much for I saw him run off across the prairie. It was four o'clock when we parted and I started for camp, in the dusk I met four Indians on horseback armed with muskets and bows. I had my musket, a six cylinder pistol and bowie knife. Nevertheless I felt mighty uncomfortable until they were well past me—in spite of their "How-How" (how do you do). Shortly after dark a couple of wolves began to keep me company with their howls, often as close as thirty steps. I must admit that these wolves bothered me a good deal more than the Indians. Their number increased as we went along, but after several miles I saw a prairie fire ahead and as I heard that they were afraid of fire I broke straight through it and true enough the wolves did not follow. After nearly strangling from the



smoke of the newly burned prairie I got to camp at nine o'clock, just Tatoo. All day I had set a pretty good pace, resting only an hour at the Civolo and it is my belief that I covered at least forty miles.

Several days ago Kettler and the others who were left behind at Camp Webb because of sickness joined us. From some of the others we hear that Kettler threw the camp into an uproar one night by loud and distressed cries for help and insisted that something black had passed through his tent. Result—for several days after someone would ask, "Who has seen the devil," and others would reply, "Kettler has seen him." For a time after he was in the "brig" because of his remarks to Stock he repeatedly threatened, that as soon as the inequality between them because of rank no longer existed he would challenge him. It appears now though as if his anger had cooled.

CAMP CROCKETT;

Sept. 19, 1846.

We are still at the same place. The sick we left at camp Erwin near La Vacca have all joined us and we now have only one man on the sick roll. However none of the lieutenants are entirely well. Lt. Niles has not been well since we left Belleville, Lt. Stock has had the diarrhea for 14 days. Last night I caught cold and this morning was dizzy and sick at the stomach, the worst stomach ache I ever had and diarrhea. The doctor gave me something to make me vomit and now I feel all right again only weak.

Last Saturday Stock (who felt some better) and I went to San Antonio with the Colonel's permission to stay as long

as we liked, because, as he said, we had performed our duties better than all the others. Luckily we had been able to borrow some money, otherwise the trip would have been a failure.

The little city has but few streets, most of the buildings are around the three squares, which with the stoutly built houses, the old church, the pretty stream, the many canals, the brown Mexicans (now citizens of the U. S.) and the drunken Texans altogether make up San Antonio with its peculiarities. In the whole town we only saw two houses built after the style to which we are accustomed. Most of them are of stone with three foot walls, dirt floors and covered with ground, like our outside cellars on the farm, the windows are barred but have no glass. They are fire proof and each house is a small fortress. Others are built of logs set upright in the ground bound together on the top and covered with reeds of rushes. Saturday evening I attended the death mass of a Catholic cannoneer and then followed the procession to an old skull-and-bone strewn cemetery in which were no markers except here and there a rough cross. The walls and gate were in ruins. The procession was led by the priest's helper carrying the cross, then the priest, the body, the man's comrades, and finally the inquisitive on-lookers. All the Mexicans we met fell on their knees and uncovered their heads.

The town is full of saloons, faro games, bowling alleys and billiard halls and many other ways for a man to lose his money. During the course of the afternoon and evening I visited several and saw large sums lost at faro but no one won. Among others I saw the well known poet Pike,<sup>10</sup> now captain in an Arkansas Cavalry Regiment, lose \$50.00 in five minutes. I wanted to see them dance the "Fandango" but they have just been prohibited because a lately dis-

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<sup>10</sup>Albert Pike, poet and lawyer.

charged Texan shot Sgt. Everett in the knee at a dance lately. Everett belongs to the Quincy Riflemen who are in town to act as Military Police. He is a fine well-educated young man whom I already knew when in Quincy. At first it was feared he would lose his leg but now it appears he will save it and even retain the use of the joint. Through the kindness of young Goforth we slept in the medical warehouse, there being no room in any of the taverns.

On Saturday afternoon Dr. Hope gave Dr. Price a very thorough whipping on the street here in San Antonio. Early Monday morning they fought a duel. Bissell and Capt. Cross (of the Regulars) were Price's seconds while Morrison and Capt. Williams (Ill. Vol.) were Hope's. Dr. White of our Regiment and Capt. Raith were also spectators and Raith showed me the spot and told me the details. The distance was 10 spaces, Hope the choice of position, Price the first shot—at the first signal Price fired and missed, at the second Hope shot Price in the lower abdomen, Price fell bleeding badly, and though his face showed him in great pain he uttered no sound. The Doctor declared the wound not dangerous, but Raith said it looked "damn serious."

Sunday morning I visited the church, which is not large, and is built in a cross, and excepting a few large statues, without decoration. Above the pulpit is the wooden figure of a Mexican representing Christ on the Cross. In the left wing an angel with the Christ Child in its arm hovers over the world around which a serpent (representing the devil) is twined; to the left is a figure of the Virgin Mary, to the right Joseph; all rather crude. Though the services had started when I entered the church the pews were nearly all vacant, the girls and women kneeling on the floor, their copper brown foreheads and black eyes under long lashes peeping out from under their shawls. Men were very scarce.

After the mass the priest spoke and though I could not understand a word, his manner and voice were very pleasing. This was followed by a chorus of men and children's voices which was the most frightful racket ever heard.

In San Antonio every one carries pistols and knives and the streets are full of vehicles, horses and footmen, a great assortment of enlisted men, officers, civilians, Indians, Mexicans, and drunken Texans. On Sunday evening Stock and I returned to camp after being homesick to get back all day. Our tent sure looked good to us. While in town we tried to find a boy to act as servant but couldn't find one trustworthy. On Tuesday a large mail arrived in San Antonio so I went in on Wednesday but found none for myself. The same evening it was rumored that the officers could now get pay, so early the next morning Capt. Raith and I went to town (where Gen. Wool and staff are now located) but no pay was to be had. While in town I stopped at a saddler's and had him make me a new scabbard for my sword, the wet and then the sun have ruined mine. I came back tired and lay down in my tent, went to sleep and failed to wake until reveille next morning and now have a cold. The nights are now cool but the days are as hot or hotter than ever. I wonder if this will continue till our march to Chihuahua begins. At a recent court martial under Col. Yell of Arkansas Capt. Wells and Lt. Ross both out of a Chicago company were dismissed for "conduct unbecoming an officer." Lately as he was washing some clothes Sgt. Schetterer (from Mascoutah) was bit on the finger by a viper, but owing to prompt medical attention he got off with several hours suffering. In a former letter I spoke of seeing some Mexican women in a house on the road and wondered at how light complected they were, they might have been of Spanish descent. As a whole the Mexicans are very dirty, in and in front of their homes you can see them



picking lice off each other. They are comparatively cleaner about their clothes than about their heads.

In the neighborhood of San Anton' there are not over 100 acres in cultivation, wheat flour \$20.00 a barrel, cornmeal \$2.00 per bushel, vegetables, eggs and butter are not to be had at any price. Here in camp we live better than we could in town.

A while ago we had a bit of excitement, a prairie fire threatening our camp and it was with difficulty that we saved our tents. Prairie fires are very common here owing to many kinds of grass.

Every day the Delaware Indians visit camp offering venison for sale at a very reasonable price. Our hunters also have better luck bringing in both deer and prairie chicken.

The 21st of Sept.

Early tomorrow the mail goes out, and in an hour I must "mount the guard" hence the hurry. Capt. Raith will mail this for me. All well.

SAN ANTONIO;

Sept. 24, 46.

Yesterday eve we left our old camp and came here. Tomorrow we, together with the Regular Artillery, 2 troops Regular Cavalry, 3 companies Regular Light Infantry, Capt. Morgan's Company of Quincy, Capt. Prentice's Com-

pany of Morgan County, both of the 1st Illinois, and Webb's Company and ours of the 2nd Illinois, totalling about 1200 men, leave for the Rio Grande. Last night we had a heavy rain and now mud—everybody busy hence my hurry. Last week I finally drew \$140.00 and am looking for a way of sending home \$50.00 to pay on my debts but am afraid to send it through the mails. Scheel and all acquaintances except Stock are well and going along. Stock and some 10 or 12 of the company (mostly Americans) are left behind because of sickness. All musicians including Karl Fritz are left behind. Kettler tried to move heaven and earth in his endeavor to get a discharge but without success. Scheel had a hard time getting permission to go with us.

CAMP ON THE NUECES;

Oct. 3, 46.

I had to close my letter in a hurry yesterday for the dragoon who was sent back to San Antonio was already mounted when I heard of it.

Just before we left San Antonio old man Weber of Mascoutah came to me and asked me to add a few lines at the close of his letter to his wife. Now he, Schlotterbeck, Kettler and in fact about one half of the company were drunk in honor of our departure. And if I had refused this request he would have made such a racket I would have had to place him under arrest, so I wrote and which accounts for what I wrote. My letters while addressed to Koerner are of course meant for my parents and all the family, includ-

ing Scheel's (for Max relies on this) and Decker's, because it is impossible for me to write more letters.

After a march of seven miles from the rocky Rio Trio, on which we camped last night, we came to the Leon, which is very much like the San Antonio. And after a very dusty march of 15 miles over reddish yellow ground full of stone and gravel under a burning sun we came to the Nueces in whose cool waters we refreshed our exhausted limbs. One can only marvel at the fine little streams here in Texas. If an army were to try to move across Illinois at this time of year relying on the streams for all their water, they would just about die of thirst not to mention the fever. And here our health is excellent. Yesterday evening one of the men brought Raith and me some fine fish and we did full justice to them. A peculiar thing but fresh meat hung out in the sun here doesn't get a bad taste but dries. Also I would not have believed that one would eat raw bacon, without bread and really enjoy it, a real delicacy.

TEN MILES WEST OF THE NUECES;  
10, 4, 46.

A quarter hour before sunrise we left camp, waded through the Nueces and marched in the sulphur heat through brush of all the different thorns in the world and dust raised by marching feet so thick one could not see.

It seems that the Mexicans are endeavoring to concentrate a large enough force in Presidio to block our crossing the Rio Grande. So early this morning Gen. Wool took two companies of cavalry and our artillery and will endeavor to reach the Rio Grande by tomorrow evening, and

by means of the artillery keep the Mexicans from getting too strongly entrenched. We had orders to follow as quickly as possible. By nine o'clock we had covered the 10 miles to here, and were again on the move when, owing to a transport wagon getting stuck in the stream, Harney who now commands us ordered Capt. Webb's and Capt. Raith's companies to fall out and help the wagons. This river reminds me of the Illinois. It is the first stream whose water while cool is not crystal clear with a sand or gravel bottom.

Shortly after we were halted Harney got word from Wool that the stream ahead where we were supposed to camp tonight, was dry. Whereupon Harney ordered the cavalry back here but the balance of the infantry started for the last stream between here and the Rio Grande, 18 miles away.

I am writing this in the shade of a sort of white thorn. All about me are cactus, God knows how many kinds. It is impossible to describe them. All plants here have thorns, all animals stings or horns and all men carry weapons and all deceive each other and themselves. I have stood the hardship of our march from San Antonio very well but many are giving out. I always carry Robt. Morrison's musket and his pack is in Raith's and my baggage. This march away from his brother seems very hard to this tender young lad, but so far he holds out.

Kettler has been riding for four or five days, using sore feet as an excuse. The balance of our company is in pretty fair shape.

Oct. 5th.

After writing the above I had to mount the guard for Webb's and Raith's combined companies (under command



of Webb as senior) and had orders to wake the companies at two and one quarter hours later, call in the guard so that we could get away at three. The night was warm and moonlit. When I had posted the first relief and came back to where the rest of the guard had their fire I found them cooking half a steer the butcher had given them, so when I wasn't busy with the guard I was eating roast beef and steak. Once the sergeant of the guard was called to a post by a guard who thought he heard a bear, the man on the next post thought it was an Indian. The sergeant could not make anything out of it and called me. And after much investigating we found a toad. I had just awakened the company when a courier from Wool arrived with orders to come as rapidly as possible which gave rise to a variety of rumors but the general opinion was that there must be a large body of Mexicans on this side of the Rio Grande.

After a wearisome march, through sand and dust under the scorching sun we arrived here at 12 noon without seeing any Mexicans. As I didn't sleep any last night and the march yesterday and today were very tiresome I'll close.

23 MILES W. OF THE RIO G.;

Oct. 6.

This morning we were on our way at three o'clock and by sun up had covered half our mileage. Then it clouded up and we didn't see the sun till after we were in this camp having come 19 miles, and now we are rested. The land we saw today was very poor [unproductive], marshes [swamps] everywhere, the borders of which were fringed with a salt deposit. In fact all the water we have found

since leaving the Nueces was very salty. While we were camped on the Nueces Capt. Raith's horse, a Nachedoches mustang of hide and bones, got away leaving no trace. Raith himself had not ridden him two miles on the whole trip but had allowed the more exhausted men to ride. The loss was felt especially by Keller, Capt. Raith's servant an educated young German who joined us at New Orleans. He used to ride a good deal and now he must walk and carry the water for Raith, Scheel and himself, as well as a pack with a day's rations. As I mess with Raith I've an interest in the mess pack but carry my own water. Yesterday morn as we were halted for rest the Arkansas Dragoons passed us, among them was Capt. Rosinante on Capt. Raith's lost horse. Capt. Raith thanked him for being so kind as to bring his horse such a long way and invited him to dismount and unsaddle. So the poor fellow amid the laughter of the infantry and his own comrades went down the road carrying his saddle. Since yesterday we have been acting as wagon train guard relieving Morgan and Prentice's companies of the 1st Illinois. By tomorrow evening we are to meet the regular infantry on the Rio Grande and will operate from that base.

## CAMP ON THE RIO GRANDE;

Oct. 9.

On the 7th. we again broke camp at three o'clock, our route was over some rather high ground and when the sun rose we could see the Rio Grande in the distance but both the 7th. and yesterday our route was parallel to the river. In the evening orders were given for the men to load their

guns. Morgan was again put in charge of the wagon train, and we joined the regular infantry. We did not break camp until sun up. It was generally expected we would have a fight. At 12 o'clock we arrived here, though we could not see the river because of the deep bed and the timber.

The Rio Grande is a little Mississippi, just as swift and just as dirty, only not so wide being about one fourth mile wide here.

We had hardly arrived when a Mexican came across and said that all the Mexican troops had left and that the mayor of the town wanted to come across and turn the town over to Gen. Wool, either that evening or the next morning. A few hours later we saw a group on the other shore with a flag of truce. When they came we found it was the mayor and the other dignitaries of the town who reported that food supplies were plentiful in Presidio and that they would be glad to sell. It's a great war, instead of the coming of the Americans being a detriment hurting the Mexicans it is a blessing, for they can sell things that otherwise would have no value. The mayor also reported that Gen. Taylor had won a bloody victory at Monterey.

Our Pioneers are busy building a floating bridge and as soon as it is complete we will cross into Mexico.

Capt. Webb just tells me that his and Raith's company are formed into a light infantry battalion under Webb's command and separate from the regiment under Bissell. We are always to be with the advance.

I just saw my first horned toad, they actually have a couple of bones on the head and are rough all over and look like a cross between a lizard and toad. Yesterday eve a soldier was drowned trying to wade across the river. The poor fellow was ordered to do so and at first objected.

Early this morning Col. Harney with his dragoons

crossed, to hold the other bank of the river. It appears we will be here several days.

Scheel and I greet everyone. All are well here, but I must make my old complaint, since Jacob was to see me in Alton I have had no word from anyone. It does seem as though you might write.

CAMP THREE MILES WEST OF PRESIDIO;  
October 13th.

On the evening of the 9th. Gen. Wool invited all the officers here to a party, where the Volunteers and Regulars kept pretty much to themselves. We got along better with the Regular Colonels and Majors than with any of their Lieutenants. The General treated to champagne, port wine and Mexican whiskey (miserable stuff, highly peppered and mixed with muscat). On leaving he assured us that as soon as all the troops were assembled here we would leave for Mont Calva (240 miles) via Santa Rosa and that on arrival there he would tell us what further to do. On the 9th. Harney's riders crossed and occupied our present camp. On the 11th. the boats were done and we crossed, in loading one of the wagons it slipped and injured one of Capt. Webb's men whose death is expected. On the 12th. we got the boats which are drawn across by mules, we crossed in a heavy rain storm. The engineers had to abandon the plan of a floating bridge for lack of anchorage. (Just now Gen. Shields<sup>11</sup> rode by, now we should have news from Gen. Taylor.) When we had gone a couple of miles west after cross-

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<sup>11</sup>James Shields of Illinois, commissioned a Brigadier General at the outbreak of the war.



ing the river it stopped raining. A quarter of a mile before reaching Presidio we came to a church or cloister now deserted and in ruins.

Presidio is built much like San Antonio though one does not see any vacant houses, nor are they in as poor repair. Most of the natives watched our passage through town with evidently no feeling except curiosity. On this side of Presidio we came to level country with many cornfields as well as sugar cane.

The camp is alive with Mexicans offering for sale bread, eggs, chickens, sugar cane, corn, sweet potatoes, figs, etc., all at ridiculous prices: 5 eggs  $12\frac{1}{2}$ c; a hen 25c; a young goat 75c; 15 dry figs  $12\frac{1}{2}$ c. Ten cents passes for a *real* ( $12\frac{1}{2}$ ) and a 5c piece for a *medi-real* ( $6\frac{1}{4}$ ). The quartermaster is paying  $87\frac{1}{2}$ c per bu. for corn. The land here seems fertile but full of stones and the fields are all irrigated. Some of these ditches represent a lot of hard work. There is no timber here and the brush reminds me of Texas. But there is one bush here full of very beautiful blossoms.

While I have not spoken to Shields I hear the Volunteers with him are in a deplorable condition. Very different from ours. Our discipline is splendid and the men look forward for either fight or siege.

It is reported that Hardin has reached our old camp on the Rio Grande and that, without waiting for Bissell who will have to follow, we will move from here day after tomorrow. Through Capt. Webb who is pretty intimate with Gen. Wool I have the chance to mail this.

The Mexicans have not yet given up everything as lost. Yesterday a Mexican officer accompanied by two lancers came in and requested Gen. Wool to pull down the American flag and recross the river.

## CAMP AT PRESIDIO;

Oct. 14, 46.

Today the Sgt. Major of the 1st. Regulars which just arrived, gave me the first letter I have received since leaving Illinois and I am certainly glad to hear that all are well. I hope you got my long letter from San Antonio and for once have plenty of news, having tried to write you all I saw and heard that appeared worth while. To answer Josephine's question, Gen. Wool, as all officers of the Regular Army is an aristocrat, overbearing and withal very fond of flattery, these are his faults; his good qualities are, carefulness and determination as well as the way he put through our march through the wilderness to the good camp we now occupy, testify; though Capt. Cross, Quartermaster also deserves credit for his zeal and the way he fulfils the duties of his office.

We have little contact with the Captains and Lieutenants of the Regular service, who seem to think themselves above us Volunteer officers, being cold and distant. Consequently we act the same way toward them. Among the Regular Colonels Harney is by far my favorite, he has all the qualifications of a good officer and with it is a perfect gentleman and the least aristocratic of the officers. Of myself I cannot write more than I have. My manner of living aside from the inseparable whole is very simple and monotonous and I am lost in it. My duties, aside from 'The Guard' which I get every 8 to 10 days are very light. When in charge of the Guard however, one is practically on his feet 24 hours, seeing that the reliefs are promptly and properly made and that the ever-changing guard regulations are observed. While the duties remain the same, Guard in camp is much easier than on the march.

October 15.

Tomorrow we start our march inland and as the farther we go the more difficult to get mail away, so I hurry to add a few lines. On the 13th I wrote you Gen. Shields had come. Yesterday I called on him but there were so many other officers present that I couldn't speak to him as I desired so didn't stay. Shields has won the hearts of the men by shaking hands with several of the privates and now these privates are quite high-headed about it.

Early this morning we heard heavy firing toward the river, where Capt. Moore had been left to guard the crossing. The alarm was sounded, we formed for battle, Harney with a troop of dragoons went to reconnoiter. What we thought was an attack on Capt. Moore by Mexicans was merely some rather heavy firing in honor of burial of a rich Mexican's child.

All the sick are being sent back to San Antonio in an empty wagon. Bissell with the rest of the Regiment is still eight days back of us. Capt. Hacker of the 1st. was left with his company at San Antonio to hold the town. Very likely Capt. Moore and his company will be left here on the Rio Grande.

We are all well and in good spirits though we do wish we had some of the peaches and apples which you have at home in over-abundance. The few dried figs we buy here are a mighty poor substitute. Our general bill of fare is coffee, beans, rice, pork, beef and crackers. But here in Presidio we get some variety. The exercise and fresh air certainly give one a good appetite.

Max, Emig and Winter send greeting.

CAMP AT THE RANCH NEVA.

Oct. 16, 46.

DEAR SISTERS CAROLINE AND SOPHIE,

Greetings and best wishes to you on your birthdays! May this find you as well and hearty as I am. The letter I wrote yesterday I have sent with a young American, Tusker Alexander, of our company who had been invalided home, which makes the second man we have lost because of sickness, as Geo. Bunsen will probably not rejoin us. Then two men were transferred to the wagon train as teamsters, and one as regimental bugler so now our company strength officers and men is 67. Our entire force since uniting with Hardin numbers 1700. Of these four companies Arkansas Dragoons are several days march ahead of us. Our company now acts as wagon train guard and consequently we are always the last to leave camp, there always being something to delay us. Today's march of 20 miles was the hottest we have yet had, that together with the dust and the fact that we found no water on the entire march resulted in a great thirst even though we started with a keg of water which didn't last long. Through the carelessness of our commander Capt. Webb the eight empty wagons, which were supposed to haul the men who would fall out because of the heat, were allowed to get so far ahead that many men were left on the way some of whom have not yet gotten to camp.

As we march to the west we see to our left a range of mountains, on the other side we still have the level land. We are camped a mile from town and there are corn fields around and for a "bit" I got some roasting ears just in prime condition. Sweet potatoes, sugar cane and pumpkins are all one sees in the fields now. Though judging from the bread the Mexicans always offer for sale they must also grow wheat. There is no wood at this camp and the Mexi-



cans seeing the need offer just enough wood to cook a pot of coffee for a "bit." They hitch their oxen to their wagons by the horns (or rather to their carts for they have no four wheeled wagons). And the wheels are made out of three pieces of wood for there are no trees large enough here to make them from one piece. We are camped at a swampy pond but when the Mexicans saw how friendly we were showed us a fine little stream about a mile away. The Mexican men usually wear only a pair of breeches, shoes and wide brimmed hat. And in cold weather a wool blanket. Only the wealthy wear shirt and coat. The dress of the women is much like that of the German peasant.

#### CAMP AT SAN FERNANDO, 17TH.

Last night we had a terrific storm which blew down one half the tents. Most of the men tried to find shelter under the wagons but I stayed under my tent, and was soon asleep again and only woke up at daylight. It got very cold and in spite of their blankets many were driven to the camp fires. Since noon the day before there must have been a drop of 30 degrees in temperature. The sun was an hour high before the last of our 200 transports got under way and we passed through San Juan (or Neva). Just beyond the town was a dirty canal with no bridge, which caused a long delay so we built a fire and gathered around it while the wagons got across. We had gone on perhaps two miles when we missed old Weber of Mascoutah. He was last noticed at our fire so taking one of our men I turned back to look for him. As he knew no English and less Spanish he was in a bad way if lost. He was not at the fire. We met a Mexican with a mule which I hired for a dollar and scouted around

for him but there was no sign. (I had to leave Denker, the man with me, as hostage for the mule.) After going several miles in my search with no result I returned and relieved my comrade. As we came in sight of San Fernando we saw our company just beyond the town but as we found two companies of dragoons in town we were sure it was safe and looked the town over. For a Mexican town quite pretty. However the trades people had evidently hidden their wares being afraid. I did buy some eggs and as good white bread as one could get anywhere. The Mexicans I have seen so far all look like Indians. Today for the first time I saw two pretty Mexican girls. So far I have not seen a large tree in Mexico except pecans and mulberry which are planted in the towns. In leaving town we had to cross the Rio Candito again as it makes a semi-circle around the town. Two miles from town we came to camp and joined our company, shortly came Weber. Lt. Niles had taken him on a reconnaissance in advance of the company.

#### CAMP 12 MILES SOUTH OF SAN FERNANDO, 18TH.

Last night was cold. We got a late start this morning and the march was hot and dusty and it was four o'clock before we made camp in hills. There is no town in sight but we have a lot of Mexicans in camp with sweet potatoes etc. for sale.

Ever since leaving Presidio we have passed a lot of single farm houses in ruins, because of the raids of the Comanche and other Indians most of the Mexicans live in town. It is strange but they do not carry muskets nor pistols. Also when man and wife both ride the same animal the woman sits in front.

I hope that these letters are interesting for I am writing long after the others are asleep. Well perhaps it may be of interest to me to read them again sometime. Good night!

## 20 MILES FARTHER SOUTHWEST; THE 19TH.

Today for the first time we got into the hills some (500 to 60 ft.) very rocky and hard on the animals' feet. But now we are again on the level ground. The weather is fine "Indian Summer." Capt. ——? returns to San Antonio tomorrow and will take this. Raith greets Dr. Reuss.

## CAMP ON THE SABINAS;

October 23, 1846.

Immediately after mailing my letter on the 19th. I went to see Gen. Shields. Col. Harney, Col. Hardin, Maj. Warren and Maj. Bonneville were also there. The General was very friendly and at once offered me some brandy and water, and in general was the very opposite of what is the mode, distant and haughty. Shields told of his trip from Taylor here with a mere handful of men, how the Indians tried to steal his horse, attacked his Texas Volunteers but were driven off. Then began the "Prairie Wolf," the short heavy, good natured, harmless Bonneville speaking to Col. Harney: "Colonel, do you know that [the commander of] the Mexican troops which fired on the Texas Volunteers, after you left the Rio Grande was promoted to a 'Brevet' for defeat-

ing you?" Col. Harney straightened his tall form, his chest heaving, his face flushed and his eyes flashing with anger: "The scoundrel says he defeated me? By God if I hear of him on my road to Taylor, I will attack and lick him or die." Harney will in a day or two take 12 Arkansas Volunteers and 6 Regulars and endeavor to break through to Taylor, to take command of his regiment the large part of which is with Taylor.

I stayed with Shields some time after the others left and it was quite dark when I picked my way through the cactus and other thorny plants to my tent.

The other morning we had a light rain, just enough to lay the dust and cool the feet. After a march of 15 miles we came to our camp site on the wild "hill stream" Alamos. When toward evening it cleared up, we could see a range of high hills in the west. They are again as high as any we have seen so far, and as long as daylight lasted we admired them.

The entire next day Capt. Morgan's and —— companies were busy getting the transports across the Alamos but when night came there were still 65 on the wrong side and we, of Webb's command, as rear guard had to look after them. Early the next morning we got them across and marched the six miles to the Sabinas, through which at a foaming flood we had to drag the wagons by means of ropes. At the Alamos we unhitched and tied the mules behind the wagons. But here at the Sabinas we didn't and it nearly lost us several mules by drowning and did ruin a lot of harness (we have only mules for our wagons).

That evening Capt. Webb asked me to act as his Adjutant, as headquarters didn't want to take his report unless signed by an adjutant. I was glad to take it for the work will not take as long as that of Officer of the Guard and I will have occasion to go to headquarters and hear the news. Today we lay over for inspection.



## CAMP 12 MILES SOUTH OF ST. ROSA;

October 25th

Yesterday we left camp fairly late, and in spite of a rather short march we suffered considerably from the heat and dust, especially as the orders were for "uniform" because we marched through Santa Rosa, that is the other troops did. We with the wagon trains did not, but came on here.

As I was taking our daily report to the Adj. General I met Gen. Shields and mentioned the mountains. He asked me how far I thought they were. As it looked about a mile, I said, "Two or three miles." He replied that he had been told in Santa Rosa that it was a good day's ride on mule back and took a day to climb and another to come down. But Shields suggested that I try it. So after drinking some coffee Capt. Raith, who is also interested, and I started, armed with pistols, through cactus and other thorns and over creek we went bound for the mountain. After going about two miles Raith dropped out but I was more determined even though the mountains did not seem any nearer. I went several miles farther over hills and through valleys, across swampy places and swift creeks until I came to an exceptionally high hill whose rocky sides I scaled. And I was well repaid for the exertion of my march and thorn scratched shins. Before me lay the wild, rugged cedar hills, a beautiful little valley through which meandered little streams, herds of cattle grazing, and little homes. Behind me Santa Rosa and to the right our camp with its white tents. Stretching for several miles, hundreds of farms with their irrigated fields, and stretching away into the hazy distance the prairie through which like ribbons one could trace the course of the Sabinas and Alamos. The hills now appeared farther away and higher than before I'd left camp (five miles away). As I could see a road that led toward Santa Rosa I took a final look at the wonderful view

and hurried as fast as my tired feet would carry me to the road and back to camp where I arrived in the late twilight. As I came, seeing Santa Rosa, surrounded by its orchards, I thought this as good as Illinois. An American, Thomas Ames, living in this town owns a silver mine near by.

Today we again got a late start as the pole in one of the wagons broke. The camp was full of natives with things to sell, having in addition to their regular stock some very good quince marmalade. The Mexicans instead of opposing us are quite friendly being afraid of the Indians and the Mexican tax collector and soldiers, having suffered greatly during the past 10 years at their hands.

CAMP AT LAS ADJUNTAS;  
October 29th.

On the 26th. we had a long dusty march across what was on the whole, fertile and well watered land, with hills to the right and unbroken level land to our left. Our camp that night was on a stream of good water.

On the 27th. we were relieved as wagon guard by two companies of the 1st. Ill. Vol., and we marched between the Regulars under Bonneville and Hardin's Volunteers from Illinois. The cavalry, artillery and the wagon train were ahead in the order named. The day before we made 20 miles. Today it was said the infantry would only go 10 miles while the cavalry and artillery would make 30 so as to hold the pass through the hills. However, when we reached a creek 10 miles from our last camp we got orders to push on to the camp of the cavalry. The land today seemed fruitful but was poorly watered. In the last 20

miles we crossed but one stream and that smelled so strong of sulphur as to be unbearable. Here we killed three seven foot black snakes. A little farther on it began to rain. A very disagreeable rain which continued for three hours. It was dark when we got to camp, in great disorder. None of the companies had more than one-third of its men. According to reports Canales with 350 men is following our rear. It is a good thing he did not know of our confusion. We had only one or two companies of cavalry who were in shape to offer resistance.

Our camp is on a rocky slope, full of thorns and cactus which made putting up our tents a bad job, and as there was no other wood we had to use the thorns for our fires. Because of the exhausted condition of the men after the 30 mile march we stayed here the next day.

A building near by soon aroused my interest. It was the "Hacienda Hermanas" owned by Jacob Sanchas, the richest man in Mexico who owns one-half of Santa Rosa and all the land between there and Monclova. The farm lies in the lower part of the valley which forms the pass through the hills. In going from the camp we first had to cross a canal which fed hot water to the Hacienda, then we came to a lake fringed with poplar, sycamore, willow, etc. Immediately back of this were the buildings all surrounded by a heavy twelve-foot wall, for protection against the Indians. Within the wall were several long buildings and a lot of little huts made of corn stalks in which some 200 lousy peons lived in misery while working off their debts. Two of them, so we were told, because they had stolen a goat with which to feed their starved family. In each of these huts we saw the women grinding corn on one large stone with another long round one, in each also was an image of the patron saint, either carved crudely out of wood or a rough print on gray paper. In a few huts we saw single earthen ware pots and one iron pan for baking bread. Hides on

the bare floor served for beds. Among the buildings connected with the farm were a blacksmith shop, hat factory, a carpenter shop and a sugar cane mill. We saw bedrooms with clean beds, leather bound trunks and small mirrors. In the dining room was a long rough table and benches, in one corner a large earthen water jar with a Spanish inscription. In the main room, as all the others, the floor was the one laid by God. But one half was covered with a fine carpet and on the wall were several full length mirrors and several gay pictures. The other furniture consisted of elegant sofa and chairs and in one corner a well carved and painted statue of St. Augustine the patron saint of Hermanas.

Large herds of cattle, horses, mules and donkeys, goats and sheep grazed on the rich pastures. The yard was full of chickens and a large flock of doves flew around the house. Near by was a large garden criss-crossed with irrigating ditches with orange trees full of ripe fruit, apricots, peaches, plums, figs, pears and I don't know what other kind of fruit trees, and many strange bushes, rose bushes full of fine blossoms and red peppers everywhere. Near the main entrance was a statue of the Virgin. The garden was laid out without system and badly neglected. A driveway lined with trees led from the house along one side of the fields. Of the trees I knew only the poplar and sycamore and there were also many strange bushes. The cultivated ground planted in corn and sugar cane did not exceed 150 acres. After giving the house and farm a thorough inspection I followed the canal carrying the hot water for a mile to the spring where it was dammed up by a stone wall to form a bathing pool with a shelter against the hot sun on the bank. The water was uncomfortably hot but I took a bath anyway getting into a profuse sweat.

This morning we were in advance with the Pioneers, having gone three miles we came to a bridge which needed repairs and so Keller took Capt. Raith's mare to the creek



to water, she got into the quicksand and it took the efforts of the entire company to save her. A mile beyond we passed the ruins of a convent. The ground from Hermanas to Las Adjuntas is very poor and only goats and donkeys can get a very poor living. Las Adjuntas has not over 200 inhabitants living in miserable huts made of corn stalks.

Here I discovered that the paper money I brought from San Antonio was worthless here. Neither the — nor Commissary will take it. Capt. Raith isn't much better off even though he has gold. They will take it but not give any change. I was lucky enough to borrow a half dollar with which I bought some Mexican flour, really shredded wheat, which is all they use here. And is made as I told you at the Hacienda. Every day we meet small trade caravans of pack mules and ox carts. Both the mules and oxen are driven with goats. The horses and mules are ridden with spurs often six inches in diameter. The horses and mules are smaller than ours. The cattle and goats average larger. The last few days we saw a lot of tarantulas, a spider four inches long and two inches wide, black; and on the head they have two hooks one half inch long with which they catch their prey.

#### CAMP AT MONCLOVA;

Nov. 7th, '46.

On the 30th. we were again in the advance and camped to within four miles of the city and lay there until the third. Every day the Mexicans came with things to sell. Raith sold his old horse for a lively young one. One Sunday I loaned my revolver to a young American named Corder because he was going into town. The rascal sold my pistol,

got drunk and pulled a Mexican off his horse who just started to beat him up when an American patrol came along and rescued him. Corder was clerk of the circuit court and county commissioner of one of our southern counties (I think Williamson) and really had a good reputation. In fact he came and paid me the purchase price so now I have some silver money, but I hate to lose the gun after carrying it from St. Louis.

On the 3rd. we left that camp and in full uniform marched all through Monclova to this camp just at the edge of town. I hear Monclova with its 5000 inhabitants is supposed to be one of the fine cities of Mexico. It has a theatre, churches, billiard halls, printing shop, schools and two saw mills. Most of the well-to-do citizens such as the theatrical people, the printer, etc., have left town. Like all Mexican towns they have running water in the streets, and they have a little square with shade trees. Only a few of the streets are paved. The houses are built of clay. Some are whitewashed, none have wood floors, in a few one finds chairs, more often sofas. Only in the homes of the rich does one find knives and forks, even in the hotels one finds only spoons. Here for the first time we saw the date palm and cactus take on tree forms. The valleys are very fertile. [Part blurred.]

The Quincy Riflemen have had to patrol the town from time to time to maintain order.

On the sixth the 2nd. Ill. Vol. arrived and with them came Stock and most of the men of our company who had been left at San Antonio because they were sick. The same day we were issued corn and hand mills so that the men could grind their own flour while in camp. (The General and Quartermaster had an argument.)

The patriotic Volunteers said if their country could not supply them with flour they didn't care about wearing out

their feet by marching any more. Then also it was reported that either the Quartermaster or the General sold the flour sent from the U. S. A., issued corn instead so when Wool rode through camp the men brayed like mules for they were fed mule feed. The matter was ended by the withdrawing of the corn issue and giving them flour instead, which the men cooked and ate that night.

While the general health is good, Fritz Winkler, a relative of Voscamp of Fayetteville, died. Scheel and I are in good health.

CAMP MONCLOVA;

Nov. 19, '46.

Ten days ago I sent you my last letter, since then we have not moved. Yesterday morning we had orders to move at four A. M. today but in the evening we had dispatches from Taylor which affect our entire organization and will keep us here several days. Shields goes to Tampico, the purpose of which I do not know. We will remain here until further orders from Taylor and will probably unite with his force en route to either Monterey or Saltillo. The plan to go direct from here to Chihuahua seems to have been abandoned as the road is almost impassable and there is no enemy there. The dispatch last night brought news of the fall of San Juan de Ulloa which may be the cause of Shields leaving us.

According to late orders Col. Churchill was to command the artillery, the Regular cavalry, Regular infantry. Capt. Williams (Kentucky) and Seefelds (German) Texas Co. all together forming a "Legion." Shields was to command

both Illinois regiments, the Arkansas cavalry. Capt. Morgan retains command of his own and Prentice's companies. Now that Capt. Webb has gone home on sick leave Raith also commands his as well as his own company. What will happen now I do not know.

The other day Capt. Montgomery, 1st. Ill., mounted guard unwashed, with dirty clothes, shirt unbuttoned and no tie whereupon Wool issued an order that in the future all officers should make a gentlemanly appearance, but especially when on guard duty, never to take off their ties nor unbutton their coats. This order caused a "big holler" but like all of his orders has good grounds and reason back of it. I believe reports go out of here concerning his doings and orders. There is a tendency to criticize everything he does. And I must admit that he could often make one order cover the matter when he uses several, and no doubt he has issued more orders and regulations than any other general but we must remember that conditions change and it is impossible to issue orders to cover all phases of army life in advance.

Shields was very well liked here and there is sincere regret that he has left. It is said that he and Wool were of different opinions and had some hot words about it.

On the ninth, Scheel, Fritz and I left camp early in the morning to climb the hill at whose foot we were camped. Scheel and Fritz expecting to find water failed to fill their canteens and so under the hot sun the water in my canteen did not last long; for we found no water. At 11 o'clock we were 8 miles from camp and up about 1800 feet. Here the going got so difficult that Scheel and Fritz gave it up and I went on alone. The day was quiet, the sun hot and the mountain steep, the footing bad and much short thorny grass against which my boots were poor protection. I set myself a pretty good pace and was more than half way up



when completely out of breath I stopped to rest and for the first time looked about me. I saw far below me the town and our camp, to right and left of me great gorges with walls three or four hundred feet high and rock formations of wonderful shapes. With frequent rests I finally made the top and it was a wonderful sight; to the left mountain upon mountain but to the right level country perhaps 15 miles wide and then again more mountains. Because of the hazy atmosphere I could not see distinctly so could not see any sign of life down in the level land. After feasting my eyes I started back. After while I heard Scheel and Fritz calling that they could stand the thirst no longer but were going to some water they saw several miles away toward camp. Directly I saw below me a path and started for it, just at dark it led me to a house where the friendly people showed me the way to town and it was nine o'clock when I got to camp. Scheel was there and was surprised that Fritz was not with me. He said Fritz had started down a gorge that seemed to lead to camp but that having the musket to carry it was too steep for him to follow Fritz. After spending a very uneasy night Scheel and I with five others started to hunt for Fritz. Directly we saw him down the road, he had found water and fearing to lose his way with the coming night stayed there till morning.

I have only been in town a few times, there is absolutely nothing there to interest or appeal to me. But the beauty of the hills does and I often climb them.

I am enclosing a few seeds, a Christmas present for Caroline, the quarter-real is for Theo. Koerner. Scheel, Raith and I are all well and in closing, much luck for the new year.

Your

ADOLPH.

Gen. Shields is kind enough to take this letter.

CAMP 60 MILES SOUTH OF MONCLOVA.

Nov. 26.

On the 24th. we finally broke camp and following the stream that waters Monclova, marched 10 miles to the prosperous Hacienda "Castana" a farm and village where there were not only no buildings in decay but they were actually building. This stream comes out of the level country where "Castana" lies and forces its way through the hills to Monclova. Without water all this country is desert. This march while not long was tiresome, being rocky and dusty. Major Bonneville and his command in advance, then Capt. Chelton's wagon train which we guarded, then the artillery; Gen. Wool and staff; the two Ill. regiments; and finally two more wagon trains guarded by Capt. Hughes' company and Seefeld's Texas Rangers. The cavalry had already been in Castana several days.

On the 25th. we marched across the mountain-surrounded level for 30 miles before we again found water and camped. It was a very hard wearisome march and many of the men did not get into camp until midnight. Near this camp were a hot and cold spring only a few feet apart.

Today we marched 20 miles before we again found water and camped. And here for the first time in a hundred miles we have some timber though it is only "Mesquit" also common in Texas and grows somewhat like our peach trees.

Since leaving "Castana" the cavalry has been in advance, and both Ill. regiments, the artillery and General and staff all ahead of us.

The night we came to Castana we had a great wind storm with a lot of dust that blew down nearly all the tents and it was very cold. I saw thin ice.

It is now definitely settled we combine with Taylor and form his right wing.

This evening it was considered necessary to detail four companies Regular infantry for our post duty.

## CAMP 15 MILES WEST OF SAN ANTONIO (MEXICO).

NUEVA LEON, December 1st., '46.

Because of a short march and my light duties today for the first time since Nov. 26th. I have the opportunity of writing to you. Since leaving Castana we have seen no fertile land. The valleys have been dry and sandy, the hills rocky and nothing grown except thorns.

On the morning of the 27th, (being hardly rested from our 20 mile march of the day before, over ground that looked like burned chalk and very dusty), two hours before sunup we started on a 40 mile march through three valleys or passes (which extend 45 or 50 miles in a southwesterly direction) before we came to water and camped after sundown.

Not only was it a long march, but the dust, lack of water and the extreme heat like ours in August made it very bad. The infantry got on the wagons, but the poor mules suffered with thirst, heat and exhaustion and many fell dead. Raith's horse and Stock's mule had many different riders and only five of our company besides myself made it all the way on foot. The other companies not being on wagon guard did not fare so well. In many cases only the captain, lieutenant or sergeant with three or four men got to camp. The rest were scattered along our route many not getting in until morning. On the 28th we had to lie over for the animals had suffered too much the day before. That the men cannot stand it doesn't make any difference. As the captain was sick these days, and Niles and Stock never do anything, I was very busy.

On the 29th we made 27 miles and passed three villages so squalid that I did not inquire their names. On the 30th, 25 miles past the ruins of a ranch called Garal to more fertile land and the Hacienda San Antonio which belongs to the Mexican government, so for the first time we took sup-

plies without paying for them, especially four days' rations of corn and 100 bushels of beans. Here Scheel bought a horse, saddle and bridle for \$25.00. On these forced marches it has been impossible to keep the companies together for every few minutes a man would fall out and if possible get on a mule or wagon. So that when we got to camp it looked as though the entire company were drivers.

#### CAMP AT PARRAS.

December 8th.

On the 2nd we only moved seven miles because it was 24 miles to the next water. This camp was at the ruins of an Indian village and as there was no wood we had to cook with dry weeds. So on the 3rd to the village Cienegas Grande; on the 4th again 25 miles to within 9 miles of here. On the 5th six miles past the Hacienda San Lorenzo to our present camp. On the 6th I visited the city and churches and tried the fiery wine they have here, which has already gotten a good many drunk. The town is full of no-account rascals and robbers.

Every day armed Mexicans are brought in who say that the Mexican troops are within two days' march. I wish something would happen soon besides these long marches. In spite of which they call us the "sleepy division." These long marches and short rations and poor ones (we are now completely out of coffee) are hard on both patriotism and health, though I must say that all our acquaintances are well, as am I.



CAMP AT PARRAS;

Dec. 16, '46

DEAR PARENTS,

Well we have been here eleven days and the end of our stay is not in sight so far as one can see. We may stay until the beginning of the rainy season in March, or we may, though not likely, move one of these days. According to reports the Mexicans have again occupied Potosi, a 21-hour march distant and that without water en route, which makes it rather dangerous to undertake. However should the Mexicans take the offensive no doubt we would get something to do for we are 120 miles farther in Mexico than any other American troops. There is a great deal of dissatisfaction among the troops because of the great curtailment of the personal liberty of the privates; the much liberty given the officers; the rotten administration of the Commissary Department and lack of confidence in the General whose pettiness becomes daily more apparent. The first of these is perhaps unavoidable without endangering the camp but the fact that the officers have such great liberties while those of the privates are so greatly restricted is a matter which the republicans do not fail to notice.

The Commissary Department is in the greatest confusion. While on the march each man was issued only a pound of shredded wheat which he was supposed to cook or bake at night after marching 30 miles. This and the meat they got was not enough to satisfy the hunger nor did it help the diarrhea which the men have. And now that we are in camp and the men have time to cook the meal they issue hardtack. The officers can always get hardtack, salt pork, fresh beef, coffee, sugar, rice and beans at a reasonable price at the Commissary. On the march from Monclova the men at first got a one-half ration of coffee but between San Antonio and here (60 miles) there was no coffee issue. Coffee

is such a help when one is cold, wet and exhausted. It is a wonder they could not have found space for more on the 500 wagons we have for 2,000 men.

Wool "the big Corporal" is so busy making mountains out of mole hills that he cannot see the things of real importance. Let an officer be caught with hands or face dirty and he is placed under arrest. Let a private get drunk and we have no less than twenty orders covering the matter. But the rottenness in the Commissary Department which Bonnevill, Hardin and Bissell rub under his nose every day, that he cannot see.

The "Old One" likes compliments and is easily deceived and yet suspicious at the same time. He believes every word you tell him but is suspicious of all letters going out. If one approaches him with tie on and blouse buttoned to the neck, etc. then one can get anything; but to try it with a single button open or no tie and you are lost before you start. Bissell is a coming man and well liked.<sup>12</sup>

Since Harney and Shields are gone, Hardin is next in rank "entitled to command," though Col. Churchill, as the oldest Colonel, with Wool's consent takes over the command when Wool is gone. Yet according to regulations Hardin is next in command. This may lead to something. There is a rumor that the next time Wool leaves camp and Churchill tries to assume command that Hardin will take Churchill's sword away. All the Volunteers and many of the Regulars are backing Hardin.

The light infantry battalion of Ill. Volunteers commanded by Capt. Raith, whose acting adjutant I was, has ceased to exist for there is no demand for a strong wagon guard now that we are in camp so we are back with the regiment.

With little exception, what we have seen of Mexico is

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<sup>12</sup>An opinion noticeably different from that expressed in the earlier letters!

barren and probably will never be farmed. The country between here and Monclova, except for a few valleys already farmed, would not feed a goat.

Parras is the largest town we have seen and while conditions are better here than elsewhere, yet they are so far behind the States that it is hard to make a comparison. The church here is very rich. It contains many fine paintings and gold images. The priest is a hail-fellow-well-met who gets on a drunk with some of our officers every night. In and around Parras are to be found a lot of rascals who will rob anyone they find alone or drunk. There are probably a few honest and upright natives yet I believe they prefer having us around to the Mexican troops who levy heavy taxes and on top of that steal and rob.

Don somebody, owner of the fine ranch or hacienda San Lorenzo, insists that he has been paying Santa Anna \$60.00 per week. The Don went to school in Kentucky and speaks English well and is a real gentleman. He says about one third of the natives have long wished for our coming; one third are independent; the other one third are our enemies.

Our camp is scattered along the river for several miles, among the trees and vineyards. The natives' houses are all built with very thick walls of clay or brick, which makes them cool at day and warm at night and the nights are cold.

Our "Katzenjammers" excepted, our company is in good health. Wine and *aqua vitae* are both good and cheap. I've been on many a spree but so far have kept out of the "Katzenjammer" class.

They say that lately 800 Mexicans moved around us going south. Rumor also has it that Santa Anna has from 7,000 to 10,000 men from 50 to 100 miles from here. One cannot believe anything one hears and yet must be prepared for any emergency.

While we have some drill and setting up exercises each

OTTO B. ENGELMANN

morning, with the exception of when we are on guard we have the afternoon and evening to ourselves to take walks, play cards or target practice with pistol. We also put in some time studying tactics and drill relations.

Greetings from your

ADOLPH.

P. S. Just had a letter, my first since leaving camp at Alton, four months is a long time to wait for news from home.

Raith's servant got sick, then Max, so Raith and I must cook. Heretofore my contribution has been carrying wood and water and drawing rations.

Address all mail—A. E. Lt. 2 Reg. Ill. Vol. Inft. Mexico. c/o Quartermaster. New Orleans.

CAMP AT AQUA NUEVA;  
17 miles W. of Saltillo.  
Dec. 25, '46.

DEAR PARENTS,

In my last letter, which I sent with Hughes of Belleville, I said it might be four months before we got away. Hughes left on the morning of the 17th. Not four hours later we broke camp and were on our way here.

The report was that Gen. Worth who was here with only 800 Regular troops was being attacked by a strong force of Mexicans, so partly to relieve Worth and partly to prevent our being cut off from both Worth and Taylor we left in a hurry, leaving our sick, with only two companies for guard, Capt. Hoffman's company of Regular infantry and Capt.



Porter's company Arkansas cavalry. As we got a late start and the next nearest water was 25 miles we only went five miles, though the artillery and cavalry went six miles farther to hold a dangerous pass through which we had to travel, but where there was little water.

On the eighteenth, 20 miles to Cienegas Grande following the road we came over from Monclova to Parras. Here we left this road to our left and camped six miles beyond Cienegas G. The next morning (19th) we got a late start, for the butcher had stayed back and the flour that had been issued was all eaten and the troops couldn't march without eating. After rations had been issued and cooked we made 26 miles, the artillery and cavalry always 10 or 15 miles ahead. On the 20th we started at three A. M. and by sunrise we came up with Wool and his cavalry and artillery and also found a large train which came out from Monclova three days before and was waiting for us here at a vacaria (cattle pen) called Pathos. Passing various other vacarias we marched 28 miles further (total for day 40) with the artillery and cavalry some eight miles ahead.

On the 21st. Major Trail woke us at 1 A. M. with orders to be very quiet as there was a large force of Mexicans near by. At daybreak we joined the artillery and cavalry who were camped where the only passable road from Parras forks going to San Potosi and Saltillo. The evening before our advance the cavalry saw some Mexican Lancers. According to reports some 6,000 Mexican troops are between us and Worth, some 25 miles away. With much ceremony we finally moved on. Two squadrons of Reg. Inft.; the First Ill. Vol. Inft.; the very large wagon train; we the 2nd Ill. and the Arkansas Cav. bringing up the rear. Before we, toward the rear of the column, ever even got started we heard that there were no Mexicans between us and Saltillo but if there were any on the road to Potosi was not sure. At

the same time we heard that Major Gen. Butler with a considerable force was camped about nine miles this side of Saltillo, so we camped here, a very favorable position on the road to Potosi, 17 miles from Saltillo and 8 miles from Gen. Butler.

On this day we had marched 20 miles and a total of 116 miles in four days, so it is no wonder the men had sore feet and tired legs, worn out horses and mules, and that when the day drew to a close the Inf. Regts. were without men. During this whole march, which I made easily, I only put up my tent once. In the foot hills enroute are many evergreens which gave us the idea of a Christmas tree. I got some flour, sugar and annis seed and two ft. of sperm candles, a couple of young fellows in the company made some right good cookies and we decorated the tree. I wish you could have seen it. The entire regiment gathered around to admire it and the mules and billy goats hung on it for special gifts.

Day before yesterday eve rumor said the Mexicans would attack us soon, yesterday eve an outpost reported a large Mexican camp nine miles away, this morn we struck camp and sent out 2 companies Ark. Cav. to scout around. We waited till noon then unloaded and put up our tents again. God knows what will be next.

The men in Wool's division are mighty discouraged; they have marched farther than any other American troops but have not seen any enemy, although apparently they have just missed them. Another trouble is the men don't trust either the General or many of his officers, and they also blame them for the fact that they often get only Mexican flour and only one half rations.

The numerous false reports as to the nearness of the enemy have gotten the men to the place they don't believe anything with the result that the men slip out of camp in utter disregard of safety regulations.

December 26th.

The two companies that were left in Parras are expected today. There is a report that they were driven out by Mexican troops but this is denied, it seems though, as sure, that they had left 13 sick in care of the Parras officials.

Wool wants to go back to Parras, where he would have no one in authority over him; it is to be hoped however that Butler will consider the wishes of the entire division and keep us here.

The country between here and Parras is every bit as hilly as between Parras and Monclova though not quite so barren, especially the little valley in which we are camped which is very fertile, maintaining large herds of cattle, goats, mules and horses.

It seems to me as though that part of Mexico through which we came after leaving Santa Rosa is as thickly populated as it ever will be. Except a few mighty fine little valleys every foot of tillable ground is cultivated; the rest is desert, often a day's journey between water and where even a goat could not exist.

The majority of the inhabitants are peons (Leibeigne) working for the few very rich, the other freemen are equally poor and miserable as the peons, and so it is easy to understand that they have but little love of country (fatherland).

Scheel is well again, as I am always and we both send greetings.

CAMP 4 MILES FROM SALTILLO;  
December 29th.

DEAR PARENTS,

My last letter was from Aqua Nueva where we stayed until yesterday. Aqua Nueva is an unimportant ranch with

a poor chapel with a cracked bell, pictures and wooden crosses. Equally interesting was the surrounding country.

Day before yesterday (27) I went on a deer hunt to a ranch some 8 miles from camp. As I approached the buildings I saw a Mexican leave in a great hurry, I found the houses just lately abandoned and the doors open. In one I found two pretty oil paintings, in another a mandolin, but all house furnishings, chests, chairs, etc. were very crude and roughly made. While I was still there a group of teamsters (wagoners) came riding mules and bringing a wagon, on the way they had killed an oxen and had the best cuts on the wagon. Now they began to catch as many chickens as they wanted. They also began to load the rails from the cattle pen. They said they had been sent out to get wood and were glad I was there with a musket as they had only me between them and the Mexicans. "Might be back any minute and the damn fellows are always drunk." While I have seen similar plundering going on within sight of colonels and nothing being said, nevertheless I warned these fellows, to their great surprise. They could not understand why I didn't get me some chicken and offered me a choice piece of beef. So in spite of there being several of them I drove them off and let it go at that.

On our march here we came past the camp of the first troops we have seen not of our division. There were two companies of Kentucky Cavalry who were located at the ranch "Encantada." The ranch where we are is called "Buena Vista." If the Engineers find there is plenty of water at "Encantada" then, by order of Maj. Gen. Butler we move back there tomorrow. Tomorrow we also expect Col. Harney and the 2nd Regular Dragoons, including the two companies that have been with us, to move to Aqua Nueva. The Arkansas Regt. is in Patos some 36 miles away on the road to Parras.



Just after arriving here I received your long looked for letter of Nov. 13th postmarked the 16th so only six weeks on the way.

This morning several of us left camp to look for fire wood in a chasm in the rocks that seemed about one half mile away. We found that it was more than two miles and that the water had cut gullies as deep as a house between there and camp. We found no wood but found several wonderful rock formations. Some of the men started to climb one of the mountains but Scheel and Waldman of our company, Capt. Peter Lott and myself started to follow the dry bed of a creek into the hills; Scheel and Waldman soon stayed behind. A little farther we found water and soon it was a roaring little stream, which farther down had lost itself in the loose rock. We followed the ever upward path along the creek under imposing rock cliffs where in several places we saw our first wild palm trees (not to be confused with the stately palms we saw even in Texas). On the more gentle slopes we saw more evergreens and other trees among them many cherries, which a Mexican told us bore large fruit of good quality. Here also I found a bush with a violet-rose colored blossom which smelled like the passion flower. I am enclosing some seed. Then, at a practically inaccessible place we came to some ruined walls and right above them a cave which had been used by (Ermit) robbers. We went ever upwards till we met some Mexicans coming down with wood loaded on pack mules, led by a dog. It was remarkable how these little animals with their heavy loads could keep their footing on the very slick rocks. These Mexicans told us it was five miles farther to the spring.

For some time past Bissell shows a great lack of energy, does nothing, is good for nothing. Morrison who is by far the most practical and efficient field officer we have, is at

present sick. Trail is a sleepy head, like Wool; Maj. Gen. Butler seems to be a hot head.

I see by your letter it is only the second you have written, please write more often. Greetings to all.

CAMP IN THE VALLEY OF L'ENCANTADA;

January 2, 1847.

DEAR PARENTS,

On the 30th we left Buena Vista and moved out six miles on the road from Saltillo to Potosi and Parras and made camp near the ranch of the same name as this valley. We have a good position our approach from the south and west being covered at Aqua Nueva by Harney's Dragoons and Patos by Yell's Ark. Cav. and back of us is Worth with his division. The Ohio Vol. which recently came from Monterey moved back yesterday, whether any others will follow at present I do not know.

While Hoffman and Porter were still in Parras the Comanches attacked the Hacienda San Lorenz. Hoffman sent a small detachment and upon their approach the Indians fled. On their return these Arkansas men separated and a Mexican tried to lasso one, he guarded the rope off with his musket and then shot the Mexican. Among the sick who were left at Parras was one Schaubelin; who bought a horse there. On the way to rejoin us he fell behind the rest and a Mexican slipped up behind him and tried to rope him, he guarded the rope off with his hand but fell off his horse with gun in hand, before he could recover his footing the Mexican got his horse and rode off with all his belongings on the saddle. Sometime later a group of Mexicans

had equally good luck getting the horse of another sick man, but he told three Arkansas men and they followed in the direction that the Mexicans had gone and soon saw them. Then followed a wild chase over thorns and hedges and across ditches for several miles until they got within gun range when the Mexicans abandoned their horses and jumped down a cliff where the Americans could not follow, but they brought five horses back with them.

One of the Arkansas men, located at Patos rode out by himself and was attacked by Mexicans who shot his horse from under him, he got into a thicket and shot three of the Mexicans in a heap, whereupon the rest got a move on them to get out of the dust.

Plundering is getting pretty common and often with bad results, recently an old gray headed sheep herder was shot because he objected to the shooting of his sheep. The guilty man has not been discovered, though I think he is an Illinois man.

Yesterday two bodies were found between here and Buena Vista, both showed signs of violence, one looked like a Mexican but the other was American. Day before yesterday Harney sent word to Wool that he could sleep in peace because the second regiment of dragoons was between him and Santa Anna. Yesterday Wool had a nightmare during his afternoon nap, he ordered everybody out and guns loaded, though there are no Mexican troops within 200 miles.

Bissell made Kettler, the most unpopular man in the regiment Sergeant Major, Karl Fritz was made First Sergeant of our company. Busen has been dropped from the rolls, if he comes now he will have to be reinstated.

Just now two men of the 1st and one of the 2nd regiment were drummed out of camp for plundering. The poor devils

without money or weapons in an enemy country are in a bad spot.

New Year was very merry, plenty of wine and brandy, nearly all were drunk. All acquaintances are well.

CAMP IN L'ENCANTADA VALLEY;

January 9, '47.

DEAR PARENTS,

We are still in the same camp. They say Gen. Quitman with two regiments has been driven out of Victoria. Taylor has drawn all available troops out of this vicinity to him, even the three companies of Regular infantry, two companies cavalry and Harney's regiment which formerly belonged to us. The center division is now alone and consists of Capt. Lemon's company at Aqua Nueva; Steen's Squadron of the 1st Dragoons (120) at San Juan; Yell's Ark. Regiment (500) 40 miles out on the road to Parras; Hacker's company of our regiment, which remained at San Antonio Texas to the last; Moore's company of the 1st Ill. Vols. that had staid on the Rio Grande; the Companies of Capt. Morgan and Prentice who had stayed in Monclova are a day's march away and are expected tomorrow, where-upon both Ill. Regts. will again number 500 effective men. Aside from them there remains in this camp only the Washington Artillery Co. with six six-pounders and two twelve-pounders and 120 men.

Bonneville's Battalion, consisting of three companies Reg. Inft. and Capt. William's Co. of Kentucky Vol. (240 men in all) left this morning for Saltillo, ten or twelve miles away.



Gen. Butler who doesn't seem to be any better than Wool has been left here because nobody else wants him. Here are 2,000 men with a major general, a brigadier general, a combined staff of more than 100 and 148 other commissioned officers. If Santa Anna does not take us on we will lie here until the enlistment of the volunteers expires.

With very few exceptions all the Volunteers of this section are mighty tired of this war, and sorry they ever left home. They believed that in 14 days they would be at Matamoros, facing the Mexicans on the battlefield in which case they would gladly have died. Instead we are 1,000 miles from there, 600 miles in the enemy country under a thousand difficulties.

No one who has not experienced it can know how hard it is to stand guard at night after a 30 mile march; or six months without word from home (that causes one to long for home) and it is hard for a free American to accustom himself to the discipline and aristocracy of the army. When after the long and wearisome marches we are again in camp, then all except the cook details, have company drill in the morning and regimental drill in the afternoon and in the evening dress parade.

If the privates want to set foot out of camp they must have a pass signed by an officer, while the officers come and go as they please, only needing a pass from the general if they want to stay out all night. Among those tired of the war is Scheel and the fact that he has not heard from his people makes it worse.

The fatigue, hardship and privation through which we have gone has not yet been as great as I expected when I gladly left home and not for one moment have I wished myself back with you. Daily there are things of interest to me, and the source of all dissatisfaction and homesickness is a lack of interest.

Most of the blame for the long marches and poor food is placed on the General and next on the Colonels. The result is that the Lieutenant Colonels who have really no responsibility and nothing to do make use of the opportunity to tell the men that if they were Colonel things would be different. Dr. Price of Belleville our Regt'al Surgeon who had a duel with Dr. Hope at San Antonio because he (Price) told Wool things that Hope had told him in confidence, now expects the sick men who come to him to take off their caps when they come, with the result that many will go without medicine before they do it. And further they must continue on duty unless they have the doctor's certificate excusing them.

This week we got a couple of old "Missouri Republicans" with an article by Bissell, not altogether true, for he said Lemon's camp was the best in the Regt. In spite of the fact that our men have lost their energy and interest our company was and still is the best in the Regt.<sup>13</sup>

This week we had a strong north wind which froze ice one inch thick and for 24 hours it was very cold. But now it has moderated and is mild.

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<sup>13</sup>In a long letter to Koerner, written Jan. 20, 1847, Bissell commented as follows on Co. H of his regiment: "Captain Raith's company, with some exceptions, has evidently felt it a duty to be blind to everything which did not quadrate with the previously expressed opinions, and directly promote the interest, of their *exclusive* and *very attentive* friend and former Captain. But let that pass and be forgotten. We all get along very pleasantly, and so we shall continue to do." The same letter contains an interesting reference to Engelmann: "Adolphus has sustained himself well, and honorably; and stands as fair among us as his friends could possibly desire. His health is excellent and he is attentive and ambitious. Last night he had command of one of the guards—and I as Field Officer of the day had to visit him after midnight. I found him constantly at his post, and holding a tight rein over his men. He is entirely satisfied and delighted with his situation." *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 1907, pp. 234-35.

4 MILES FROM SALTILLO AT BUENA VISTA;

Jan. 16, '47

DEAR PARENTS,

In my last letter I made some error as to our troops. Major Bonneville and his entire command (including Capt. William's Kentucky company) are gone; perhaps a few hundred miles by now. The Ill. Vol. companies that I said were a day's march from us are probably only at Monclova. In Saltillo there are two regiments Indiana Vols. under Brig. Gen. Lane (1280) and a battery of Reg. Art. under Capt. Webster with two 24 pounders and 36 men, and here with us 50 Texas Vol. and three companies Kentucky Cavalry (150). The report is that two strong forces of Mexicans are crossing this way. One from the north to attack Saltillo, the other from the west to strike us. We will soon know for yesterday Major Howard, our Q. M. and Major Burland of the Ark Regt., each with two horses went out to scout around and we expect them back this eve. This evening or at latest tomorrow we expect some troops from Monterey. The plan is that the troops remain where they are. Should we be attacked Lane will come to our aid. Should it be Lane we will go to his. Of course if both are attacked at the same time we stay. If the report concerning the nearness of the Mexicans is true the chances are we will have a fight tomorrow or day after. By that time our combined force will number 6,000 men; 4,000 in Saltillo and 2,000 here and I do not believe the Mexicans can muster enough men to try it.

Day before yesterday I took my first walk to Saltillo. And when thinking the city was still several miles away suddenly I saw it spread out in the valley below me it was a fine surprise. Saltillo is the biggest and finest city I have seen, as interesting as all the others put together. Presidio and Vava de San Juan were the poorest, San Fernando was better, then

Santa Rosa, Monclova and Parras in the order named. They say that Monterey is even richer than Saltillo. I was only in Saltillo a short time so cannot say much about it but I met a young Lieutenant of the Indiana Vols. who spent last winter with Sam Scott's widow and who is a great admirer of Margaret.

Lice are frightfully abundant, and while so far I am free of them I look forward to the time when I'll have plenty.

Since leaving Presidio we have no forks in our mess and our tin cups have shrunk to two.

Every evening for several days past one hears, "who stole Clark's pulonce (Mexican sugar?)" and the reply, "Sgt. Major Kettler." As to the truth I cannot say. At Encantado a tent burned and Kettler being mean talked Capt. Osborn into taking back a tent we borrowed from him in New Orleans, and as we cannot get others, we are short two so the men are doubled in the others. At this time I have with me Becker, Wedekind and Upman. I continue to mess with Capt. Raith.

While the nights are cold the days are so warm that almost daily we go swimming.

Of the reported attack and the 1900 Mexicans nothing remains except a bad joke.

BUENA VISTA;  
Jan. 23, '47.

DEAR PARENTS,

Nothing new nor of importance has happened, the Mexican Army seems to have disappeared. The only reliable report is the one of Major Howard a Texan and our Q. M.



He and two other Texans (who had been with the St. Fé and Meier Expeditions) when they heard that the Mexicans were on the Potosi road rode out that way some 60 miles and as they neared a ranch saw much dust and an occasional rider but not being able to make out for certain what they were he approached a peon a short distance off the road but he would tell him nothing. Then looking for water and not finding any they decided they had best go back for fear the peon would tell the Mexicans. And directly they saw some 30 Mexicans chasing them. Howard and Burgess had good horses that could have outdistanced the Mexicans but Dusenberry's was all in having already gone 60 miles without water. So Howard and Burgess told Dusenberry to keep on, while they from time to time turned and took the offensive. At this the Mexicans in the lead would fall back on the larger group, whereupon the Texans would again turn and retreat, Dusenberry in the meantime gaining considerable ground. Except for the superiority of the American horses and their own courage and initiative the three would have been captured. In a day and a half they covered 120 miles and during that time neither they nor their horses had any water.

Jan. 24th.

After I had written the above the companies under Capt. Hacker, Moore, Morgan and Prentice arrived and with them the sick that had remained wherever we had left a garrison. Another of our company, Martin Walzer died in Monclova. He was buried beside Fritz Winkler. By the access of these four companies both of the Ill. regiment now number about 700 men. Capt. Hacker brought all letters

from San Antonio that had arrived up to his leaving. There was none for me.

Lieut. McFarland of Lemon's Co. is now Provost of the Camp. Lately as he and Buckmaster, a Q. M. Sgt. of our Regt., were walking in town a Mexican hit McFarland over the head with a whip. McFarland drew his pistol, aimed and pulled the trigger but it was on safety, in the meantime Buckmaster drew his sword and charged on the Mexican but his horse could outrun Buck's legs.

BUENA VISTA 5 MILES WEST OF SALTILLO;

Jan. 24, 47.

DEAR BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

Since I last saw you I have led a varied life of great interest to me, and in my many letters addressed to Koerner but intended for the parents and all of you I have tried to tell you of some of the individual occurrences. I have often found it difficult to find a quiet moment to write of the ever changing conditions under which we live, and to write of them afterwards might be tiresome for it is impossible to recall what I have already told you under the continued change, and to cover all the matter would be hard work.

I regret that our long stay at Monclova, Parras, and here has been during the winter, for even here nature sleeps during this time. Otherwise my trips through the surrounding country would have been even more interesting, and now it is impossible for me to pick the finest flower among the many seeds I have sent you.

The past three days have been fine and warm and each night we have a shower and things are beginning to get

green. In a couple of weeks I expect everything will be green. I get a great enjoyment out of the many differences in the life I am now living and that I lived at home, as well as out of the country and its people. With many this great difference between the life we now live and the life at home; the country itself and our home land only tends to increase their homesickness, as does the aristocratic bearing of the officers. The majority of the men blame the higher officers for the hardships and privations we have undergone, not realizing that circumstances and conditions made them unavoidable and yet many officers for political and personal reasons encourage that point of view.

Only some real activity can restore the energy and morale of the men so I was glad to hear today that Taylor was on the way with more troops and that we would move against Zacatacas or Durango. Please save all the letters I have written as they will always be of great interest to me. The large letter which, according to mother's letter, Decker wrote me has not yet arrived, but with our now getting mail regularly once a week I still look for it.

BUENA VISTA;

Jan. 29, '47.

DEAR PARENTS,

The day after Howard got back from his trip to the ranch on the Potosi road (which I wrote you) Major Burland with a company of Ark. dragoons and Major Gaines with C. M. Clay's company of Ky. dragoons went on a recon-

naissance to find out more as to the number of Mexicans. He found the ranch deserted and as there was fine grazing for his stock he stayed though it was contrary to his orders. That night he was lax in his guard and 500 Mexican Lancers came, first took his horses then the weapons and finally all the men. So they got 80 men, 2 majors, 2 captains and six lieutenants without losing a man, and marched them in triumph to San Luis de Potosi under escort of 200 men.

The Mexican commander Mejia wrote the Alcalde of Saltillo to tell the American commander that he would treat the prisoners as was customary among nations. Since then, also Capt. Eddy and 17 men of a Ky. company were captured by the Mexicans at a ranch where they had gone on a drunk.

Taylor is expected daily. It is said that aside from the approximately 4,000 men in and about Saltillo he has one company of artillery the rest having been ordered to Scott. As a result of this he feels hurt and has forwarded his resignation to Washington.

The other day a soldier pointed out to the officer where a Mexican was selling brandy to the men. As Taylor had issued very strict orders against this, the officer had to arrest him and report the matter to Morrison who happened to be Field Officer of the day. Morrison sentenced the Mexican to get 25 lashes with a whip thinking it would be popular. Last night the men held court in Capt. Lott's company to which the fellow who reported the Mexican belonged. A jury was selected, speeches heard for and against, the jury retired into a tent and soon returned a verdict of guilty and sentenced the informer to be ridden on a rail. No sooner said than done, and among much shouting he was ridden around camp on a pine pole.



The 30th.

Yesterday, Henry, who went with Burland as interpreter, arrived in Aqua Nueva; where we have our farthest outpost, on foot and exhausted. Henry's account of the occurrence at the ranch differs from what the Mexicans reported and I wrote earlier in this letter. According to Henry the Mexicans surrounded them during the night with 3,000 cavalry. At daybreak the guard saw them and gave the alarm and Burland's men were immediately under arms. But when the Mexicans came under a white flag demanding their surrender and as Gaines and Burland saw it was hopeless they did so. Henry tells that Gaines and Clay sat and cried. Also that on the night before Burland sent out a scout party 10 miles and saw nothing of these Mexicans. The Mexican General Miñon allowed Burland and Gaines to keep their horses and weapons and the second day Clay was also given a horse. Miñon made the statement that as the Americans neither sat their horses nor carried their swords like soldiers that one of his men could whip five Americans. Henry was one of the renowned "Perote prisoners" and was recognized as such on the 4th day and was to be shot at once. When he told Gaines this the latter gave him his horse and urged him to escape which he did though he was shot at and followed for miles. When he was yet 60 miles from Aqua Nueva his horse died. During the four days in which he covered 200 miles 60 of which on foot, he had nothing to eat except a rat which he was lucky to catch. When the Arkans'ers first heard that their Majors were with their men prisoners, the entire regiment, Colonel and all started in great disorder, to go free them. When they got to the famous ranch 60 miles distant and ran into three regiments of Lancers under Gen. Miñon they changed their minds and returned.

Since three days ago, Major Warren with Capts. Morgan and Prentice's companies of the 1st Ill. are camped about

one and one-half miles out on the road to L'Encantado, why I do not know for the Ark. and Kentucky Cavalry who are stationed at San Juan, Aqua Nueva and L'Encantado are guarding every passable approach from that side.

Did I tell you that Capt. Seefeld's company of Texas Rifles under command of 1st Lieut. Conner (since Seefeld left) was mustered into our regt. about a week ago?

# CAMP AT SALTILLO;

Jan. 30, '47.

As I was writing the above the 2nd Regt. and Artillery received orders to move at 1 P. M. and at the same time the 1st Regt. was ordered to be prepared to move at a moment's notice. The report is that a strong force of Mexicans is south of Saltillo and 2,000 Rancheros at Patos where formerly the Arkansas troops were located. Our camp is on a bluff, Saltillo lies immediately below us in the bottom. One fourth mile to the left of us they are making emplacements for the two 24 pounders which are now in the town.

During the past week we had much horse racing and the drill ground was fairly often in use for ball games.

It is the talk of the camp that when Gen. Shields sent G. T. M. Davis from Monclova to Monterey with dispatches he did in fact send him to Washington with complaints against Gen. Wool endeavoring to have the latter removed and himself appointed in his place. And that the report that Davis was wounded by the Mexicans was merely started by Shields to account for Davis' long absence.

Since we left the camp at Buena Vista three men of the 1st. Regt. were murdered at the ranch (San Juan de Ban-

dista) one half mile from camp. Hardin at once sent Crow with his Company to the ranch and they arrested the first 16 men they got hold of in an endeavor to find out the real culprits. While the men realize that these fellows needlessly exposed themselves, nevertheless the feeling is pretty high.

PROVOST GUARD, SALTILLO;  
February 6th, '47.

DEAR PARENTS,

The weather is very disagreeable, the air heavy with moisture and with any gust of wind we have a shower. So when the Guard formed this morning I took post on the left side of the officers and so drew the assignment to the Provost guard. Here we have a large good tent through which no water comes unless it be through a hole, which can be easily avoided. And as we have only five prisoners (and they are very quiet) I have nothing to do except to see that the Corporal relieves his men at regular intervals.

Last Sunday I visited the large church in Saltillo, the largest and finest I can remember ever seeing. The walls are of stone, three feet thick, with a front of 80 and depth of 150 feet. There are three steeples one of which is not completed. The largest hall is built like a cross and to the left is another hall or chapel. Both are full of pictures with heavily gold-plated frames. Though the pictures themselves seem very inferior to me they claim the ornamentation of the high altar is worth \$10,000.

Before the war Saltillo must have had 10 or 15 thousand population, now perhaps 8,000 of the poorest remain. The

houses are of stone and soft limestone with two-foot walls, roofs of ground on which weeds grow, the outside walls projecting a couple of feet above the roof. The windows are all barred with wood or iron and mostly project like a bay window and here the Mexican ladies like to sit. The children also prefer this for their play. Only the very rich have glass in the windows but all are guarded by heavy wooden shutters. There are very few windows on the side toward the street and never more than one door. In the larger houses built around a court there is a driveway, guarded by heavy gates into the court yard and then only one door leading from this yard into each building around it. The rooms are all large, high and dark and generally have only the most necessary furniture. The floors are stone or dirt. Most of the streets are paved and there are some sidewalks. There are several nice plazas, in front of the church there is a fine running fountain and there is a fine park with shade trees and benches.

The dress of the women is very much like that of the German peasant women. That of the men is more peculiar, over white underwear they wear a wide trouser of leather or black satin on which the outside seam is open from the knees down and richly decorated with metal buttons. These trousers are held up by a highly colored sash. Shoes or sandals, never sox. A bright colored blanket and a wide high-crowned hat are essential to poor and rich alike. Then comes a shirt and a richly colored blouse or jacket of leather or satin.

In each house you find several fighting cocks. In the country one of the pastimes of the children is to lasso the chickens, not only by the neck but also by either foot. The children of the laborers here are dressed in a shirt with a small blanket over the shoulders and carry a goat pelt to sit on. On these cold mornings to see these little fellows with their yellow faces and coal black eyes all wrapped up



in their blankets and squatting on the goat pelts begging from the "foreign" soldiers is a sight.

Sunday night at 8 o'clock we heard a succession of shots in the city. The regiment was under arms in a moment. We then heard it was Mexican prison guards shooting at some prisoners trying to escape.

Wool tries in various ways to show his satisfaction with the conduct of our regiment. On Tuesday Taylor arrived with a regiment of Tenn. Riflemen (350 men) a Squadron of Dragoons under May, and Ringgold's Artillery.

Taylor is short and very heavy, with pronounced face lines and gray hair, wears an old oil cloth cap, a dusty green coat, a frightful pair of trousers and on horseback looks like a toad. May looks like a loafer.

Every indication is that in a few days we all go back to Aqua Nueva. Both Indiana and the Kentucky Regts. have already gone.

It is reported that Majors Burland and Gaines and all their men attempted to escape from the Mexicans and were all shot down.

We hear much talk of Potosi, but no doubt you know more about our situation than we do. Peach and plum trees are in full bloom here. All are well here and looking for letters. Surely you must not write regularly for newspapers come in on regular schedule.

CAMP AT AQUA NUEVA;  
2-12-47.

DEAR PARENTS,

Our regiment marched here last Monday and joined Taylor with Duncan's Artillery. May's riders and the Tenn.

Riflemen all camped to the right of Aqua Nueva not far from our former camp and a mile beyond the two Indiana Regiments under Gen. Lane, one Kentucky Regiment and the Arkansas Regiment. On Wednesday the 1st. Ill. which had remained at Buena Vista came, and also Gen. Wool with Washington Artillery and Steen's Dragoons and made camp near us. There remain in Saltillo two companies of each regt. (excepting the Tenn. Regt.) and Webster's Batt. of 24 pounders all in command of Major Warren of the 1st. Ill.

This evening an order of Gen. Taylor was read which leaves Wool in command of all troops to the left of Aqua Nueva, and so outranking Gen. Lane, Taylor retaining personal command of the few but proved troops lying to the right. In spite of the complaints made by Shields, Harney, Bonneville and Maj. Gen. Butler against Wool, Taylor seems to have complete confidence in him.

The Arkansas Regiment has from time to time lost men who leaving camp would be lassoed and dragged by the Mexicans. On Monday just as we arrived they missed another man, by chance the favorite of the regiment, a nephew of Senator Colquit who was serving as a private. The next day his body was found, badly mangled from dragging over the brush and rocks, three miles from here. When the body was brought to camp it caused great anger and bitterness against all Mexicans but especially against the civilian inhabitants for there are no organized troops around. The following (Wed.) morning about one half of the Arkansas Regiment started out "to reconnoiter" they said but in fact seeking vengeance on a lot of Mexican civilians they had noticed in a narrow valley (or chasm) in the hills near where Colquit's body was found. Capt. Coffee and his entire Company from Washington County as well as others of our regiment went along, expecting some excitement. About six miles from camp the Ark'ers, who hurried

ahead came upon a lot of Mexicans from Aqua Nueva and the ranches toward Saltillo, who had gone there seeking safety from the soldiers. The Ark'ers at once began to shoot every man they saw in spite of their falling on their knees and begging for their lives, or that they were running away. Capt. Miller of Monroe County begged the Arks. to "stop the murder for God's sake" without result. When he asked them to wait for the Infantry they stopped, saying, "It's no more than fair to let the footmen have a chance also." Miller hurried back and explained the situation to Coffee who double-timed his men to where the Arkansas men had twelve men keeping them for the footmen. Coffee surrounded these twelve and took them prisoners much to the disgust and chagrin of the Arkansas men, some of whom in fact shot at the Mexicans while surrounded by Coffee's men, who brought them to camp. The number of dead Mexicans is variously placed at from 18 to 30 though it may be more. While the Arkansas men were doing the shooting the individual men of our regiment made use of the opportunity to loot the belongings of the Mexicans. When Bissell and Morrison heard of the frightful murder they hurried to the scene but arrived only in time to see the Mexican children crying over the bodies of their parents. Taylor sent word to Yell that unless he turned over the guilty men he would order the entire regiment home.

The Mexicans that Coffee brought to camp were for their own safety held all day and then turned loose, excepting one man held for stealing the breeches belonging to a man of the 1st. Ill.

Taylor says it will be two months before he moves against San Luis. By that time the enlistment of most of the Illinois men will expire and unless they re-enlist will no doubt be sent home. Now I enlisted for the duration of the war and as I was later made Lieutenant they can only hold me in

case they find a lieutenant's berth for me. However with the Volunteer officers there is nothing doing, so I could no doubt go home with the others, but the reasons which caused me to sign up for the duration are still the same, and while I more fully appreciate what such a signing means, nevertheless if my health continues as good as it now is I will no doubt join one of the companies which will be organized out of the remains of the two Ill. Regt. and will carry a musket in place of a sword.

We are having very cold weather, yesterday snow this morning the hills were white and now it rains. In all this time I've had only two letters from home which makes me fear the postal service is no good in which case write more often.

CAMP TAYLOR, AQUA NUEVA;

Feb. 20, '47.

DEAR PARENTS,

Since I last wrote nothing worth mentioning has happened unless it be the fight between Col. Lane and Gen. Lane in front of the Colonel's Regiment. There are again reports of a strong force of Mexicans near by. This morning a detachment of Cavalry and a few cannon left to drive some Mexicans out of Encantada, 40 miles away on the way to Potosi and also to bring in some beef fit to butcher for we are short on beef. It is very windy and as I am again in charge of the prison guard and must write outside, which under the circumstances is difficult I'll stop. All are well including Fritz and Emig.



SALTILLO;  
Feb. 26, '47.

DEAR PARENTS,

No doubt you already know that we had a battle near here and as to the outcome you know as much as I.<sup>14</sup> All is confusion and I am in no mood to write but just want to tell you that Adolph was wounded in the right arm but no bones broken. The doctor thinks it will heal rapidly. The Company lost seven dead and eleven wounded. F. Weber of Mascoutah, killed on the field, is the only acquaintance.

Greetings, MAX SCHEEL.

Wounded but lively, yours for the time being left handed  
ADOLPH.

SALTILLO;  
March 1st, '47.

DEAR PARENTS,

As you have no doubt received the letter from Cols. Morrison or Bissell it will be sufficient for me to say that at the request of my good friend Adolph, I, though personally unknown to you am writing for him because of the inconvenience it causes him to write owing to his wound, which pains him considerably. Since I have been with him several days it was my privilege to see the pleasure the receipt of your letter dated January gave him.

Adolph is lying on the bed beside me and will dictate what he wants to say. From now on it will be him and not Ferdinand Richter who speaks.

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<sup>14</sup>The Battle of Buena Vista, Feb. 23, 1847.

In my last letter I told you that a force of cavalry and artillery was out to find the enemy and report on his number and nearness. The following night these troops returned with the report that the Mexican forces were about 20 miles distant. The next morning, Feb. 21st, we left that camp and returned to Buena Vista. The transport wagons were in great demand because of the large amount of provisions that had been accumulated. The first wagons to arrive at Buena Vista were at once sent back for more in the endeavor to save as much as possible.

At midnight our outposts at Aqua Nueva exchanged shots with the Mexicans, whereupon Col. Yell who remained in command at Aqua Nueva set fire to remaining supplies of corn and bacon, and retired toward Buena Vista. On the morning of the 22nd the place we had left the day before was alive with Mexicans. At 11 A. M. the first of them came into this valley. By four o'clock we could see from our position their concentration and preparation for battle. We had marched 1,000 miles to see the Mexican army and at last our wish was fulfilled, and caused a great deal of satisfaction among all the troops. At 4:20 the Mexicans fired their first cannon but at such a distance that it was harmless and after firing several rounds stopped for the day. At the same time quite a lively fight was going on between some Mexican infantry and a part of our Riflemen. It was very noticeable that while the Mexicans fired with great regularity it was without effect, while our fire was not so plentiful nor regular but very deadly. The approach of night stopped this skirmish. That night we slept by our arms on the battlefield. On the morning of the 23rd we saw the Mexican Infantry advancing in great numbers toward our position on the plateau and at about 10 o'clock they fired several volleys from a nearby ravine. As the bullets went over our heads it sounded like a swarm of bees. At this first fire Adj. Whiteside was the only man wounded.

In about 10 minutes these Mexicans advanced and for the first time we could return their fire with success.

One young man in our Company was standing so far back of the front rank as to endanger the man in front. As I turned to call his attention to this I stumbled and Morrison sprang to me saying "You're wounded," but only just at that moment I was struck by a bullet in the right arm high up at the shoulder, and is still lodged there and probably will remain. The musket I held fell from my hand and I was compelled to look up the surgeon who bandaged my arm and sent me back to the ranch Buena Vista. In the afternoon the ranch was attacked by some 500 Lancers who were however driven off by 50 Riflemen on the roofs of the buildings. That night those of us badly wounded were brought to Saltillo and placed in the church. The following day I was brought to this house where I have the company of Capt. Baker and Coffee of our Regt. and Lieut. Withers of the Kentucky Inf't. all of whom were wounded. Col. Morrison is also here laid up with rheumatism. Good nursing and a nice high room make my condition bearable or should I say almost pleasant. The account of the battle I will leave to those who really saw it.

Your

ADOLPH.

*Nota Bene.* In the foregoing I tried to assure you that my arm was all right. To settle any doubts on the matter I signed it with my right hand.

DEAR PARENTS, SALTILLO;  
March 14, '47.

My wound does not heal as rapidly as I hoped. Several weeks may pass before I am recovered.

Gen. Kearny is expected in 14 days. He is in the vicinity of Parras.

SALTILLO;  
March 20, 1847.

DEAR PARENTS,

I must make further use of Richter's friendship as I have in the past weeks to tell you what I am doing and acknowledge receipt of Jacob's letter. I was very glad to hear that Jacob has recovered. It will take me longer. As long as the cloth carried in by the ball remains in the wound it will not heal but now there is a pronounced swelling in the front of the shoulder, caused by the cloth and when this breaks and the cloth is out I hope to recover promptly.

Rumor has it that the Commandant at Comargo had sent dispatches to the U. S. to the effect that Taylor and his entire army had been cut off and thoroughly whipped. I sincerely hope that you heard the true report of our victory before you heard these bragging lies. Of course I can no longer gather seeds.

Polk's administration is as unpopular with us as it possibly can be, and the manner and means by which Taylor is held back is certainly a shame.

I was very sorry to have Jacob write that many of the peach buds were being frozen for I certainly hope we have peaches for last year I could not enjoy them and these southern fruits are a poor substitute. The balance of the army which Taylor left behind is again located at Buena Vista so it is easier for the men to visit us wounded. Scheel is here for a week. His company and help is a great comfort



to me and I wish he could stay until I was well. While slow, the wound must eventually heal and as the time draws near for our return I hope it will be well and as lively as when I left. All our acquaintances are well.

SALTILLO;

March 31, 1847.

DEAR PARENTS,

It is over a month now since I was wounded. The fragments or pieces of cloth of my blouse and shirt which the bullet carried into the wound are causing me a great deal of anxiety, more than ever. I live in hopes that the bullet may be located and removed and with it the pieces of clothing also, which I suppose will expedite the healing of the wound. Thank God I am able to tell you that my condition has been improved during the past three weeks. As you will notice by my handwriting the above was written with my left hand on March 31st. But today I am able to write with my right hand although being handicapped with a wound. I am able to be out of doors again.

Major Doniphan of Missouri entered the city of Chihuahua after meeting very little resistance. There were 7,000 Mexicans and 800 Americans. There were 300 Mexicans and 3 Americans killed.

Without Scheel's care and nursing I would have been in an awful plight. It is not good for me to write too much.

Best regards to you all from your rather jovial son.

ADOLPH.

Easter Monday, April 2, '47.

I am gaining strength daily. My wound is in a healthy condition. During the past three days I have taken daily strolls in the yard and even ventured into the street.

Scheel was granted permission to stay with me until my wound has completely healed.

Poor Scheel has suffered with a terrible tooth ache but is feeling better again.

SALTILLO;  
April 11, 1847.

DEAR PARENTS,

It is a pleasure to inform you that I am gaining strength daily. Today Scheel and I went to the canteen and we each had a cup of chocolate. In my last letter I wrote that the bullet lodged under the shoulder blade, but present indications show that it has moved in an arch toward the inner side of the arm a half inch below the point where the arm joins the shoulder and has lodged there without causing any swelling or irritation and pus formation. Under these conditions the bullet may remain there unmolested and after I return to the States I can have it removed. And if it does not cause any trouble it may remain there undisturbed. The swelling of my shoulder has gone down somewhat within the past week. God only knows when the surgeon will locate the pieces of cloth from my shirt which the bullet carried into the wound and while these are imbedded there it will be impossible for the wound to heal. The surgeon told me that if no complications would arise I should be able to travel by the beginning of May. So if I am able to get a transfer and procure an "Order" from Maj. Gen. Taylor, Benton or Butler (to go home on account of inability to do

duty) I will go back to the States in an ambulance. In case I should get a furlough instead of a disability discharge I will stay here until the Regiment goes home which it will undoubtedly do in the near future. For if I get a furlough I will not be entitled to "travel pay" which amounts to \$200 to \$250 from here and to \$200 from Point Isabella or some place near there where the Regiment will be discharged. If I should improve sufficiently that my physical condition shall warrant and I am unable to get an order to go home I will apply for my discharge. If I got my discharge I would get "travel pay" from here but it would mean not to ride in an ambulance also no pay for the remaining time the Regiment is on duty here. Both of which I would be entitled to if I get an order to go home or a furlough. This pay should not exceed \$90.00.

Best regards from Scheel. Best regards and kisses to all nieces and nephews of whom I am often reminded and heartiest greetings to the grandparents.

Your

ADOLPH.

Even though these letters may imply that I may be on the home road when you receive them, answer by all means at weekly intervals until I tell you I am leaving here, for should my wound trouble me and compel me to stay indefinitely I will need your letters more than ever.

SALTILLO;

April 17, 1847.

TO MY DEAR BELOVED FATHER IN HONOR OF HIS BIRTH-DAY THIS 17TH DAY OF APRIL 1847.

May this lucky day have brought as much happiness to you as it has brought me. For today I was overjoyed as

those fragments of clothing, to which I have referred so often, came out of the wound in my shoulder and I may now look forward to a speedy recovery in the near future.

Oh! This is a lucky day! A small incision in the fore-part of the shoulder made the removal of these pieces possible.

Since I have written the foregoing, my dear father, I just received a letter from you dated March 12th. Thus the day serves a double purpose in reference to the happiness it has brought me. Today is the 18th. I was unable to write immediately following the operation yesterday. Since there are so many inquiries from mother and relatives it will be necessary for me to impose on Comrade Richter's kindness again for it would be quite a task for me to write all the answers to the inquiries as Richter is unable to help today I must continue myself. It was late in Autumn when we came to this part of Mexico and the majority of crops had matured. This also refers to the different varieties of fruit. From the time of our arrival here, until the day I was wounded the country was barren of vegetation with the exception of the mountains (where mother does not want me to go) in whose valleys vegetation could be found. The field crops are barley, wheat, corn, sugar cane and sweet potatoes. The different kinds of fruit that I have eaten are a poor grade of apples and a poor grade of dried peaches poorly cooked. The quinces are as good as any I ever ate, and a few dried figs and oranges shipped in from Monterey, Mexico. This is all the fruit I have eaten here. I have seen a few apricot trees here and there but as their season was over months before we came I cannot vouch for their quality. I have been told that they also raise plums in this country. Vineyards are only to be seen near Parras, Mexico on the plains and none in the hilly country. Being restricted from visiting villages in the vicinity of our camp we have not the opportunity to get acquainted with



the Mexicans or perchance to learn or understand their language. This prevents me from gaining any information regarding their method of raising grapes. In the most improved vineyards the vines are supported by arbors or trellises. Even though I did not see any of the grapes on the vines I had the opportunity to sample the wine. The main grades of wine in Parras were a thick red, sweet and of high alcoholic content, and a white sour wine not so strong. They store it in barrels as we do at home. They say they raise pears here but I know nothing of their quality. Rabbits are plentiful here in the mountains. They are like those in Germany. Deer are not as plentiful as in Illinois, though they seem to be of the same stock. They also have some pheasants but they are somewhat larger than those in Illinois.

I will now answer mother's inquiries. From reading the foregoing she will see that it was impossible for me to gather fruit and grape seeds. Garden vegetables are the same as we have in Illinois. The best vegetables I have seen here are cauliflower. It was of superb quality. Other vegetables are of medium grade.

The letter Koerner wrote and mailed early in February (as Jacob wrote me) has not yet reached me. Nor the one from home mailed prior to the one received today.

SALTILLO;  
April 25th, '47.

DEAR PARENTS,

Received your letter of March 2nd and the one from Koerner dated March 12th. There was also one enclosed from Decker dated sometime in February. Since the battle

in which I was wounded I have received a letter in every mail that has arrived and I pray that you will write frequently. My health and wound have shown noticeable improvement though very little worth mentioning.

All preparations and indications show that our Regiment may start for home about the 10th or 12th of May and I hope that my physical condition will be such that I can undertake the journey with the Regiment without endangering my life. If you continue to write and address the letters in care of the U. S. Quartermaster 2nd Regt. Ill. Vol. they will always reach me even though we may be at New Orleans.

I owe Koerner many thanks for his friendly efforts to assist me but under present circumstances they are of no great help since my only endeavor is to try to get home as soon as possible. If I had not been wounded a commission as officer of a Regiment of Infantry or of the War Department would have been quite welcome. But I would have been in a dilemma or embarrassed had I received a Commission in a Regiment of Cavalry since I know very little regarding drill regulation of a cavalry unit and an officer who is incapable of doing his part is a poor hand in playing the leading role or rather in being the star actor.

Col. Bissell just came to see me and said that while he received only one letter from Koerner he had written him three from San Antonio, Texas.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>15</sup>On the same day that this letter was written, Bissell informed Koerner of his visit to young Engelmann. "I have just returned from town (our camp is 5 miles distant from it) where I went expressly to see Adolphus," he wrote. "He was severely wounded and has suffered severely in consequence. Indeed, he has suffered a dozen deaths—but he is greatly improved within the last week. There is not the least doubt of his recovery—nor is there any reason to fear the loss of his arm, the joints of which he can move quite freely even now. He is much reduced, but he is in fine spirits, has a good appetite and is gaining strength every day . . . Adolphus will be able to accompany us home—and you may rest assured that I shall not come without him. He acted nobly upon the battle field." *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 1907, pp. 236-37.

Tell Decker I will make an effort to verify the death of Etzhorn. The confidential news from Decker about Schmieding did not interest me near as much as it did my private secretary (Scheel). I must not omit that I got a letter from Theodore Koerner.

SALTILLO;

May 9th, 1847.

DEAR PARENTS,

About a week ago I suffered an attack of slow fever, which has left me now, although I lost considerable weight. At the same time I also had a severe attack of dysentery but am gradually getting better. In spite of all this the condition of my wound is improving, the swelling is nearly gone and I can move my shoulder better than at any time since I was wounded. I am greatly indebted to Scheel for the assistance he rendered while he cared for and nursed me, which was a rather strenuous task at times.

The Regiment will not start home until early in June and I hope that I may be homeward bound before the date of the Regiment's scheduled departure. In case I do leave here before the Regiment Scheel will go with me.

I insist that you continue writing. The most recent letter that I received was dated March 12th.

\* \* \*

This is the last of the Engelmann letters. The Adjutant General's records show that Engelmann was absent on furlough from May 23, 1847, until June 18, 1847, when his company was mustered out of service.

## NEW SALEM

### THE DEDICATION CEREMONIES

On October 26 the restored village of New Salem was dedicated. Thirteen log cabins, complete in every detail and furnished as they were a century ago, gave the town where Abraham Lincoln once lived the authentic appearance of a pioneer settlement. Smoke curled from log chimneys while thousands gathered for the dedication ceremonies.

The day was the culmination of months of work on the part of state authorities and volunteer workers of Petersburg and the adjacent country. Nearly a year had passed since the cornerstone of the first structure to be rebuilt was laid<sup>1</sup>—a year in which the walls of log cabins slowly rose again in New Salem, while the Old Salem Lincoln League combed the territory for furniture and other objects used a hundred years ago. The result, first apparent on the day of the dedication, exceeded all expectations. The presence of thousands of visitors was all that prevented a spectator from imagining himself in the original rather than the restored town.

The dedicatory ceremonies were carried out as planned in spite of the rain which fell continuously. Logan Hay, president of the Abraham Lincoln Association, presided. The principal speakers were Frank E. Blane, President of the Old Salem Lincoln League; Paul M. Angle, Secretary of the Illinois State Historical Society, and Governor Henry Horner. The Rev. Grant Mason, pastor of the Petersburg

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<sup>1</sup>An account of the ceremonies on this occasion may be found in the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* for January, 1933, pp. 326-342.



Presbyterian Church, recited the invocation, while the Rt. Rev. Msgr. M. A. Tarrant, chancellor of the Springfield diocese and pastor of the Springfield Blessed Sacrament church, delivered the benediction. Music was furnished by the Petersburg high school band and the Lincoln Liberty chorus.

As a part of the ceremonies a number of individuals whose contributions to the restoration have been outstanding were presented to the audience. These included Robert Kingery, Acting Director of Public Works and Buildings; C. Herrick Hammond, State Supervising Architect; Joseph Booton, chief draftsman in immediate charge of the restoration; and Thomas Reep, historian of New Salem. A feature of the occasion was the presence of George Hearst, son of William Randolph Hearst, whose purchase of the land on which New Salem stood and subsequent gift to the state were the first steps in the memorial project.

#### GOVERNOR HORNER'S ADDRESS

The principal address of the occasion was delivered by Governor Horner, who spoke as follows:

This is, indeed, a happy and memorable occasion. With reverence I come here today, not only as Governor of Illinois, but also as a devoted worshipper with you at this shrine to Illinois' greatest son. To us this is more than a mere dedication of another historic place in Historic Illinois. It is infinitely more than that. It is the consecration of an abode for the spirit of the Lincoln that appeals to us all—the young, vigorous, studious, ambitious Lincoln who, groping blindly yet diligently and unceasingly, here fitted himself so well for that future greatness which the whole world acknowledges and reveres.

Here in the quiet peace of this rugged village on the hilltop, now being restored by our state to all its rustic and impressive simplicity, the spirit of Lincoln may

again dwell with the spirits of those lovable, kindly influencing characters—Mentor Graham, Jack Kelso, James Rutledge and others—who contributed so much to his development, and to those qualities of leadership that were to urge him ever forward and upward to the very mountain tops of everlasting world esteem.

There is no finer, truer Lincoln memorial than this little rebuilt Illinois village of the thirties. Our country is dotted with many Lincoln memorials—many are splendid works of art that seek to portray this and that phase of the Lincoln theme—but none is like this.

The old town of New Salem seems to have been erected by destiny to receive and mould the young Lincoln and when it had performed this important function, it seems to have folded its tents like the Arabs and to have silently stolen away.

The forest that covered New Salem hill was cut away to make room for the tiny village that was founded in 1829—two years before the tall ungainly figure of the 22-year-old youth with his homespun pantaloons stuffed in his boot tops made his way up to the hill to the new hamlet where the homes of about a dozen families had been erected—appearing as they are reproduced here today. For six years this place was his home and he became an important part of the little community. A few years after he left here to reside in Springfield, New Salem became a deserted village and returned to the solitude from which it came.

Abandoned though it was by residents and dwelling houses, the memory of Lincoln's life "from gangling youth to manhood's utter heights" still lingers here. For in this sanctified spot during the brief moment of its history as the little old town of New Salem, Lincoln first voted; here he lounged and labored and studied and clerked and wrestled and joked and matured. Here he became storekeeper and surveyor and postmaster. From here he went into the Black Hawk War. Here he met his first love and endured the tragedy of her death; here he met his first political defeat and here he was elected several times as a member of the Illinois

legislature. Here he thought through many of the problems of life and prepared himself for his unexampled career in the world beyond New Salem.

And by the restoration accomplished by the state our mind's eye sees again the bustling little village of a century ago with its pioneer population of 100 souls among whom sojourned and developed the "noblest man who ever lived in the tide of time."

New Salem, when rebuilt in its entirety, and its cabins furnished completely with relics from the formative period of Lincoln's life, will exert a greater influence on the lives of this generation and future generations than any other memorial shrine to Lincoln in all the world.

These rugged dwellings, these evidences of a crude though sturdy civilization, surrounded as they are by the beauties of nature, seem to draw us even closer to this gigantic figure who loved his fellowman so unselfishly.

Here little children will come and gain a clearer insight into the Emancipator's soul; here the patriot will come to participate in celebrations, and the scholar and student and Lincoln lover will come to browse and dream and hope.

To those sturdy, God-fearing pioneer settlers of New Salem village, to the members of the Old Salem Lincoln League, to the distinguished publisher Mr. Hearst, who made the state's acquisition of this historic ground possible, to the architects, builders, historians, the artists, the public-spirited citizens and the officers and representatives of this state who made this shrine possible, I am happy to express the gratitude of all the citizens of Illinois for their devoted labors and contributions to the creation of this unique memorial and the lessons it will emphasize.

If it is courage we need to face the future, it is courage that we shall find here. If it is inspiration we need, that too we shall find here. To take new heart,

to take new courage, we have but to remember the trials that beset Lincoln here.

It is now nearly seventy years since Abraham Lincoln was called to the place which God has reserved for the immortals. Vast social and economic changes have since occurred. Old governments have fallen; new governments have risen in their places. The greatest armed conflict in the history of civilization has been fought. Yet this nation, solidified, unified, sanctified by the blood of the martyred Lincoln, has forged and will continue to forge steadily ahead, safe and secure upon the foundations of that liberty and freedom for all he gave his life to establish.

These are days of reconstruction, and the "greatest good for the greatest number" shall guide the nation in the future.

This site, hallowed by the memory of Illinois' matchless Lincoln, appeals to the citizens of Illinois to remain true forever to the tradition of his life.

With his guiding figure ever before us it will never be said that his state and its citizenship will ever fail the nation in its time of need. Under the influence of his life we will continue to have faith in Illinois, faith in its sons and daughters, faith in our national institutions. We cherish the hope that this village which we have re-erected on the hallowed ground where it formerly existed will always be a symbol of our desire to adhere to the rugged truths which guided him, and that it will encourage us to return to the confidence which he had in his fellowmen and to seek to accomplish in our own humble way, and in our times, some of the things he was able to achieve. In that spirit we today turn back the pages of history to live for a moment in a past century in order that we may live more usefully and understandingly in the present one.

In addition to restoring and furnishing individual structures, every effort has been made to re-create the environment and atmosphere of the original village. The parking place has been removed from the center of the



town to its outer limit, and visitors are urged to enter the town on foot over the old Springfield road, now rebuilt. The museum, a jarring note, is to be screened with trees and heavy shrubbery. Formal planting has been abandoned in favor of corn patches, indigenous vines and wild flowers.

As funds become available the other buildings of New Salem will be restored. Future restoration, however, will only round out a project already almost perfect. The verdict of the many thousands who have already visited New Salem is that it is a unique memorial to Lincoln, an impressive exhibit of the way of life of a century ago, and an achievement in which the people of Illinois cannot have too much pride.

## MELVILLE E. STONE

### A BRIEF SKETCH

On August 20, 1933, the Optimist Club of Normal, Illinois, unveiled a tablet at Hudson, McLean County, to mark the birthplace of Melville E. Stone. Brief mention of the event was made in the Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society for October, 1933. Since that time we have been able to secure a copy of the address which Mr. L. A. Brophy of the Associated Press delivered on that occasion. It contains so much of biographical interest that we present it in these pages.—Ed.

We dedicate today a memorial to one of the greatest figures in the world's journalistic hall of fame. It is especially noteworthy because this honor comes from the hearts and souls of people who have no professional interest in journalism. Too often, the achievements of men, and of women, in the newspaper field, go unnoticed. It is curious, but the general public seems to regard newspaper work as something mysterious; something to be taken for granted. Those who gather news from the far ends of the earth, and those who fashion newspapers appear to the uninitiated public to move in a purple haze of romance. Statues, memorials, heroic markers are dedicated to statesmen, soldiers, great merchants, and representatives of other professions who have achieved eminence in their field, but the great editor often is only a legendary figure. So, it is eminently fitting that today the Optimist Club of Normal, Illinois, commemorates the birthplace of Melville Elijah Stone, who was all those things I have enumerated—great editor, great business man, truly a statesman and diplomat.

Melville Stone asked no honor in life or in death. He was content to direct The Associated Press; to

watch it grow, under his direction, to the greatest organization of its kind in the world; to watch its scope broaden, to see it burgeon into a tremendous force in American life and living. Melville Stone was plain, although he sat with the mighty. He was a moving force in the events of world affairs, but he shunned self-glory. Knowing his character, as I have read about it, and as I have heard it from the lips of those in the Associated Press organization who worked with him, I am sure this ceremony today is in keeping with the tenets of his life. It is a simple expression of the desire of those who live where he was born to do honor to his memory. He would have liked that because he never forgot his friends. He never forgot those who came from Illinois. His photographic memory retained names and associations, and the haze of years was no bar. Time and again callers at his office, in attempting to explain who they were would be interrupted with the assurance that he knew them and a good deal about their connections.

"My name is Cartwright and I come from Illinois," one would say. "I know," Mr. Stone would reply. "Your father was a judge twenty years ago. His people were Covenanters who settled in Pennsylvania. Your mother was Mohawk Dutch."

During the war, Mr. Stone was called upon frequently to go to Washington in connection with the activities of the American Red Cross. His name appeared with others in the newspapers there. One day he received a letter in a trembling, old-fashioned hand, which read something like this:

"Dear Mel: I can hardly believe it possible that you will remember me, but I shall give you no further clue to my identity than I am now past ninety years of age and remember you very well."

Mr. Stone studied the signature for a moment. It was a challenge to his memory that created some amusement to his associates. "Now wait a minute," he said, "It's coming to me. I have it. Yes, that woman was

a teacher in a grammar school that I attended sixty years ago."

That same afternoon, an automobile rolled up in front of an unpretentious cottage in the older section of Washington. Out hopped the one-time school boy, one arm loaded with a be-ribboned basket of fruit. In the doorway, a tiny old lady smiled a welcome through her tears.

"You did remember me, Mel, didn't you?"

"Of course, I remembered you," he said, "I never forget my friends."

This ceremony today is an echo of the love of Melville E. Stone for his friends. It mirrors the heart of the man who could look down from the eminence that was his and glory in the friendship of plain people and plain things.

Melville Elijah Stone bore the torch. If that can be said of any man in the great profession of gathering news and building newspapers, it can be said of him. It is a long span from that day in August, 1848, when Melville Stone was born in the prairie village of Hudson, Illinois, to this August day in 1933, as we stand here and honor his memory. If it were possible to draw the curtain on those years, we could witness here today a thundering cavalcade of the forces that made worlds and men during the last generation. We could see, written with the fire of a brilliant mind, the effulgence of Melville E. Stone, reflected through this mighty procession that trod the corridors of time. We could see a shining pathway from the prairies of Illinois, to the great metropolis of America, to the continents of the world, the pathway that Melville Stone built into the homes of every citizen so that the light of knowledge might shine on their hearthstones, and they would know what the world and the men and women who peopled it were doing. We could see a comparatively single strand of telegraph wire that was the Associated Press when Mr. Stone became its general manager, and we could see that strand today multiplied almost beyond human conception, into a communications sys-



tem that knows no barrier. Melville Elijah Stone was the trail blazer of world enlightenment, through the public press.

As I stand here today, another ceremony comes vividly back to me. It was accoutered with the grandness of a state event. I refer to the burial ceremonies for Mr. Stone in Washington Cathedral. In death, the fame he had never claimed sought him out. The President and the Vice-President of the United States were present at that other ceremony. Cabinet officers, highest judges, and the ambassadors and envoys of rulers and peoples around the world were gathered to pay tribute to his memory, as his ashes were placed to rest beside such great Americans as Woodrow Wilson, and Admiral Dewey. I attended that ceremony, and I am singularly happy to be present at this one today.

The name of Mr. Stone is historically linked with that of The Associated Press, as it is a part of the tradition of the Chicago *Daily News*. The Associated Press today has reached that fulfillment of promise which Mr. Stone visioned for it. Under the direction of Kent Cooper, who took over the helm within a few years after Mr. Stone relinquished it, The Associated Press has made immeasurable strides in consolidating and extending its service to the 1,300 daily newspapers that comprise its membership.

Mr. Stone was general manager of The Associated Press for twenty-six years, for more than a half century he was a tireless reporter. To tell accurately the story of his life, and the story of The Associated Press, I shall refer freely to The Associated Press biography which was distributed to all members of the news association. This was written by a staff writer and submitted to Mr. Stone to pass upon its accuracy. He approved it, and the sketch of his life can certainly be regarded as a history of The Associated Press as he saw it.

Mr. Stone was the son of a Methodist minister, the Rev. Elijah Stone. His mother was Sophia Creighton Stone. Both his mother and father were descended from lines that gave to several generations men and

women distinguished in the professions and in business.

In boyhood, he was physically frail and suffered the inconveniences common to the progeny of itinerant ministers in those days who moved from "charge to charge" very often.

Mr. Stone gloried in his birthright and the adversities of the family fortunes. He once wrote:

"I am grateful that my lines fell in pleasant places; that I was born on the boundless prairies of the west; that we were a people only reasonably good and in no sense transcendental; that our conscience was the homely western conscience; that we did not measure a man's morals either by his manners or his money."

Mr. Stone entered the newspaper business at the age of twenty, when he spent a month or two as a reporter on the *Chicago Republican*, and then began the publication of the *Sawyer and Mechanic*, his first newspaper. But the paper did not last long, and his father bought him an interest in an iron foundry and machine shop in Chicago, which prospered until it was destroyed in the great fire.

In 1869, Mr. Stone married Miss Martha J. McFarland of Chicago. Two sons and a daughter were born of this union.

After the fire, his foundry business failed to recover, and he became definitely allied with daily newspapers in 1871, when he took charge of the *Chicago Republican*. In 1874, the possibility of starting a one-cent newspaper interested him. That was the beginning of the *Chicago Daily News*. Fifty years later, this audacious penny newspaper was to return to its owners an annual income of \$1,350,000.

The *Daily News* became so popular that it was necessary to refuse advertising within a few weeks. But as the circulation increased, a difficulty cropped up. There were not enough pennies in circulation to make convenient the purchase of a one-cent newspaper. The young newspaper editor ingeniously overcame that. He imported several barrels of pennies from the Philadelphia mint and he induced leading merchants to mark

their goods at odd prices, such as 59 cents, or 99 cents. The only use the customer could make of the penny change was to buy a *Daily News*.

But the capital with which the paper was started was inadequate and adherence to high principles brought many battles with advertisers. Mr. Stone's partners were not in a mood to continue the struggle and their money was returned to them. A new partner was found in Victor F. Lawson, who died in 1925, after almost fifty years of ownership of the paper. The newspaper forged ahead and was one of the most powerful journals of the country when Mr. Stone disposed of his interests in it to Mr. Lawson, just prior to 1890. He went abroad and returned to Chicago in 1890. He became vice-president of a newly organized bank, and was active in the affairs of the growing metropolis on the lake.

In 1893, he returned to the newspaper business. He became general manager of The Associated Press. At that time he wrote: "The business of news gathering and purveying has fallen into private and mercenary hands. . . . There can be no really free press in these circumstances. A press to be free must be one which should gather the news for itself."

With that stroke, Melville E. Stone turned his back on riches. Undoubtedly, had he continued in banking, or other commercial ventures, he would have been rated with the millionaires. He chose, instead, the path that led to public service. He ended his life with a king's ransom in the regard of the world for a task well done.

He struck quickly and hard to extend The Associated Press. The day after his election as general manager, he started for London and consummated an agreement with the Reuters News Agency of Great Britain and its allied agencies in other European countries, for the interchange of news between the new and the old worlds. That was a noteworthy step and one which for the first time made possible the creation of a flowing channel for news across the oceans. In



1898, The Associated Press, then an Illinois corporation, was triumphant in the news field, but it suffered reverses in the courts when a decision was rendered inimical to its organization. Consequently, in September, 1900, The Associated Press, as it is known today, came into being as a corporation organized under the membership act of New York state.

The just due of a people seeking enlightenment on the forces that made up this world of ours was immeasurably furthered by Mr. Stone's missionary work abroad in behalf of a free news report from all nations, gathered into the great clearing house that was The Associated Press.

Before The Associated Press undertook this, most of the news of the old world came through London. Naturally, it was reported as the Britisher saw things. Mr. Stone's determination was to have alert Americans collect European news. He wanted such news to fit in with the fundamental of Associated Press reporting which was absolutely unbiased news. He traveled the world over establishing Associated Press bureaus, and he was able to obtain concessions from European governments which they would not think of offering to the press of their own countries.

One of his greatest triumphs came during the Russo-Japanese War when he persuaded Emperor Nicholas to remove the censorship from Russian press dispatches. He made that master stroke in a personal interview with the Emperor. The son of the Methodist minister from the Illinois prairies indeed had reached an eminent position in world affairs. It was achievements such as this that led many of Mr. Stone's admirers to declare him the greatest newspaper genius of the age.

Melville E. Stone, rich in achievements, continued as general manager of The Associated Press until 1921, when he retired.

It would be fitting to tell you something about the organization with which his name is linked in the history of world journalism.



The Associated Press today is called the most successful example of a purely coöperative association. It serves nearly 1,300 daily newspapers on this continent. It leases 250,000 miles of telegraph wires. In one day's report, it will transmit more than 100,000 words.

A far cry from the early days of Mr. Stone's management! Then, and indeed, up until a comparatively few years ago, all news was transmitted over Morse wires. Today, the great flood of news finds its outlet over automatic telegraph machines that click out page after page, with tireless, mechanical perfection.

Truly, this great organization is a magnificent monument to the sagacity, skill, and courage of the men who builded it. To Melville E. Stone, and to those who worked with him, and who followed him. It has taken vision, and faith in individuals to achieve this. It has taken humanness and the understanding of men who know what news is and how to adapt it to the needs and the wishes of a people.

We salute the memory of a man today who was rich in all these characteristics, and who was able to instill them in those whose hands grasped the torch when it fell from his.

We salute the memory of a man who loved his friends, and who gloried in the simplicity of his birth-right. It is fitting that we give this tribute here.

## HISTORICAL NOTES

### THE ONE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE METHODIST CHURCH OF ABINGDON

The city of Abingdon, Knox County, Illinois, is located in Section Thirty-three of Cedar Township. It was laid out by Abraham Swartz, who named it for his birthplace, Abingdon, Maryland. Mrs. Swartz before her marriage was Miss Carroll, a relative of the celebrated Charles Carroll of Carrollton, the last survivor of the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

The first settler here was Azel W. Dorsey, who came in 1828. He had formerly lived in Indiana, where he had served as a teacher to the children of Thomas and Nancy Hanks Lincoln. Coming to Knox County, he first settled on Section Eighteen, but the next year he removed to Indian Point Township. After a few years he removed to Schuyler County, where he died and is buried.

The second settler was the Rev. Hiram Palmer, a Methodist minister who settled on Section Seven and preached the first sermon in Cedar Township.

In 1829, came A. D. Swartz, founder of Abingdon and Hedding College. It was in the log cabin home of the Swartzes, in the winter of 1829-30, that the Rev. Mr. Palmer began his preaching, according to Methodist tradition. At that time a class was formed, and in 1833 a church was organized with nine members. W. D. R. Trotter, a son-in-law of Peter Cartwright, was appointed pastor. The society was admitted to the Henderson River Mission. The first quarterly meeting and communion were held in the

home of Jacob and Bathsheba West, with Peter Cartwright in attendance.

The Swartz home was the regular meeting house of the church until 1836, when the first school house, which is still standing at the corner of Jefferson and Pearl streets, was utilized. For ten years the Methodists worshipped here, but in 1846 a one-story frame building was erected two blocks south of the present site of the church. Eventually outgrowing this structure, the congregation worshipped in Hedding Chapel until 1868, when a second church was built. The present church edifice was erected in 1898, during the pastorate of the Rev. R. E. Buckey.

Many of the prominent Methodist ministers in this section have served this parish during the past one hundred years. The church starts on its second century with a membership of 450, a Sunday School with a membership of 350, and auxiliaries of all the church societies.

DAVID F. NELSON.

Abingdon, Illinois.

## THE SAUK TRAIL IN KENDALL COUNTY

Secretary, Illinois State Historical Society,  
Springfield, Illinois.

Dear Sir:

Why is it that I can't get anyone interested in the point at which the old Sauk trail crossed the Fox River of Illinois below Plano, Illinois? It should be of enough historic interest to get a marker placed thereby, before the last trace is lost. It came from Rock River to the old trading post of "Maramech" as portrayed by my friend Steward in

"Lost Maramech," and met the old Kishwaukee Trail on the north side of Fox River near the ford and just below the mouth of the combined Big and Little Rock creeks.

The west branch of Big Rock Creek (*Crique du Rochers*) which enters DeKalb County just northeast of Hinckley, Illinois, is called "Battle Creek" on our earliest maps and is a reminder of the Fox battle near Plano, Illinois, in 1730.

Going west from the long bridge below Plano, and on the south side of Fox River, between 80 and 140 rods one comes to a deep gully, from the flat timber land at that point, down to the river, and at that point is the shallowest ford across the Fox River, in many miles. Just to the right there used to be a nice spring where all of us campers secured drinking water, and just above it, a leaning hollow tree grew out of the river bank. Said tree housed an opossum family the year I was there in the early nineties and their burrough extended into the earth at the foot of the tree. The ford and gully are only a few feet down stream from that tree and spring, and that gully was the first one of any size west of the long bridge over the Fox River. From that point of crossing the trail led west to Malden, Canada, and west along the flat and higher country not far from Sandwich and Somonauk, Illinois, to the mouth of the Rock River.

I am getting along, over three score and twelve and feel that some one ought to take enough interest in the marking of the spot to do so. It is about one mile south of the Fox battlefield and the union of the Kishwaukee trail with that of the Sauk trail and the ford should be marked by a monument. They come together just below the Maramech Indian village and trading station, where the early *voyageurs* floated their goods from Pistakee (*Pestiquay*) bay, after portaging from Root River of Wisconsin.

Leaving the lake at Racine, Wisconsin, and paddling up Root River to the portage, this, I believe you will find was



before the great portage was established at Portage, Wisconsin, as the tribes were gradually pushed westward. The very earliest maps portray Maramech. Let me hear from you and if this last letter will cause an interest in those two old trails and the "Sauk ford" I will feel well repaid for the effort.

Yours truly,

J. M. POSTLE, M. D.

Mellen, Wis.

## HISTORICAL NEWS

One of the most successful centennial observances held in Illinois in recent years took place at Pittsfield, Pike County, on October 11. Between 4,000 and 5,000, including many former residents, were in attendance.

The program commenced with an address by Jess M. Thompson. Oliver R. Barrett of Chicago, a grandson of William Watson, Pittsfield's first settler, spoke next. Logan Hay of Springfield, a son of Milton Hay, pioneer Pittsfield lawyer, followed. After Mr. Hay's address, Mr. Thompson recalled John Hay and the Pike County Ballads, quoting from several of the poems. The Schubert Club, dressed in the costumes of 1850, sang a number of southern ballads and songs, and the high school minstrels gave a short performance. An exhibition of fiddling and square dancing delighted the audience.

A feature of the centennial was a large display of furniture, relics and memorabilia connected with the history of Pittsfield and Pike County. Attractively displayed in store windows, they aroused much interest, and drew many visitors from a distance.

In opening the centennial program, Mr. Thompson drew a vivid picture of the Pittsfield of a century ago. This portion of his address, printed originally in the *Pike County Democrat*, is reprinted here in order that it may be permanently preserved and readily accessible.

In opening this centennial program let us as best we may set the wilderness stage of 100 years ago. The beautiful court house park in which we are now assembled was then a hazel thicket through which crooked cow paths meandered and in which youthful nimrods had high sport chasing rabbits. There were no trees here then, these present lofty forest trees having been set years later by citizens of the early town pursuant to an order of the court in 1845, permitting

the president and trustees to fence the square and plant shade trees therein.

On the north side of the square there were but four buildings. Where the Daily Cleaners and Dainty Dress Shops are now located stood the early frame store of Thomas Dickson. Next west, on the corner at the alley where the Heck store now is, stood the first court house. Across the alley, where the spacious Shaw store now stands, was a vacant lot. West of this, where the Niebur store is now located, was a small one story frame that was later occupied by Talcott & Hodgen, general merchandisers, and which later was enlarged and occupied for many years by Field the jeweler. Where the Pittsfield Hotel now is was a vacant lot, dropping off at the rear into swampy land. On the rear end of this lot stood the log house of Michael McGuire and also the log home of Elijah W. (Squire) Hickerson whose marriage to Electa Crane in 1833 was the first wedding in the new town, and here in this log house of the Hickersons was born on April 21, 1835, the first white child born on the site of Pittsfield, Sarah E. Hickerson, who married S. C. Howland of Newburg, and who prior to her death a few years ago was living with her granddaughter, Mrs. Charles Sneed, in the town of her birth.

The first building on the west side of the square stood where the Barber drug store now stands. This was the store of Greene & Barber (Robert R. Greene and Austin Barber) cousins, who came from Marietta, Ohio, the year Pittsfield was founded and established a store that became noted in the Military Tract. Next south of Green & Barber's was the early store of Jacob Hodgen, who later built the first brick store in town. South of this about where the north room of the Strauss store now is, stood the harness shop of Hamilton Wills, the last store on the west side. The old Oregon House corner was still raw prairie, where later stood Rattan's Tavern, succeeded by the Oregon House.

Where the Loyd hardware store now is, stood the log store of Jonas Clark. Across the street east stood

the store of Talcott & Co., who did most of the banking for the early town before the first regularly constituted bank. East of this was the early Mansion House built in 1838 by William Watson the first settler, then only two stories in height and having only about half its present frontage. East of the Mansion House and standing partly on the present site of the post office and partly on that of the Morland Drug Store, stood the log home of Nancy M. Heath, and here in this log house in the winter of 1834, Mrs. Heath taught the first school in the new town. East of Mrs. Heath's, on the site of the present Bush Block, stood Frank Spencer's small blacksmith shop. East of here, where the First National bank and other buildings on the east half of the south side block now stand, the tall prairie grass still waved as high as a horse's back.

On the east side there was nothing until we come to the present site of Plattner's. Here stood the early home of the Misses Bush (Ellen and Maria) sisters of the late Merrick Bush. North of the Misses Bush and about where the Fry store now is was the John U. Grimshaw store. North from Grimshaw's to the present jail corner there was a cow pasture, unmarked by so much as a settler's shanty.

At the northeast corner, where the Austin meat market now is, stood the town's early public house or whiskey shop or grocery as it was then called. Here there was much drinking and fights were common, averaging about one a day the first five days in the week, two on Saturday and four to six on Sunday, according to Chas. J. Sellon writing in 1859.

Thus, as viewed through the eyes of the early historian, stood the public square in those days of primitive living near 100 years ago. No vestige of the early square remains. The old buildings are all gone and like the chambered nautilus we have moved into more stately mansions.

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On October 30 the statue, "Lincoln in Action," which stands in Rosamond Grove Cemetery near Pana, was



rededicated with impressive ceremonies. J. Nick Perrin of Belleville, well known orator and historian, delivered the principal address.

The statue is the work of Charles Mulligan. It was the gift of Capt. John W. Kitchell and Mary Kitchell, and has stood for thirty years, known to far fewer people than its artistic merit deserves. A description, by Lorene Martin, may be found in the Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society for April, 1929.

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The Indiana Historical Bureau has just issued *Indiana Boundaries; Territory, State, and County*, by George Pence and Nellie C. Armstrong—Volume XIX of the Indiana Historical Collections. In addition to an exhaustive survey of boundary legislation in Indiana, the volume contains maps illustrating every successive stage in the development of the boundaries of Indiana and its counties. It is obvious that the work has been done with such a degree of thoroughness that its repetition will never be necessary.

The annual meeting of the Woodford County Historical Society was held in the Metamora Court House on November 10, 1933. The following officers were elected for 1934: president, L. J. Freese; vice-president, W. H. Foster; secretary, E. U. Ridge; treasurer, W. H. Smith; custodian, A. F. Marshall—all of Eureka; assistant custodian, Miss Lillian Thena, Metamora; trustee, S. M. Synder, Metamora.

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The Madison County Historical Society held its annual meeting on December 2 at the Stratford Hotel in Alton, with sixty members and friends in attendance. Mrs. Cynthia Mason Sawyer of Godfrey, read a paper on "The Early History of the Congregational church of Godfrey," and Paul M. Angle, Secretary of the Illinois State Historical Society, spoke on the subject, "Local Historical Societies: Their Responsibilities and Opportunities." Mrs.

Wilma Logan Thompson gave a number of vocal selections. Present officers, headed by W. D. Armstrong of Alton, as president, were re-elected for 1934.

The Madison County Historical Society is an active organization engaged in numerous historical projects. One of the most interesting is the attempt now being made to locate cannon believed to have been abandoned at Fort Russell, the War of 1812 stockade a short distance northwest of Edwardsville. C. E. Bristow of Edwardsville, has been using both Tungsten magnetic dipping needle and radio for this purpose. While so far no definite indications have resulted, a considerable number of arrowheads, lead balls and bits of crockery have been found, and Mr. Bristow feels that there is still hope of locating the cannon if they exist.

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The Illinois State Historical Society held its annual Illinois Day meeting in Springfield on December 4. George Fort Milton, editor of the *Chattanooga News* and author of *The Age of Hate*, spoke on the subject, "Douglas' Place in American History." Paul Rich of DuQuoin, was awarded the gold medal for his prize-winning essay, "Early Industries of Perry County," in the contest conducted jointly by the Illinois State Historical Society and the Daughters of the American Revolution, Illinois Chapter. Mrs. John G. Goodhue, state regent, made the presentation. Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, president of the society, presided at the meeting, and Governor Henry Horner introduced Mr. Milton to the audience.

Mr. Milton's address, and Mr. Rich's essay, are both printed in this number of the *Journal*.

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An almost forgotten episode in the history of Illinois is becoming the subject of much interest in the southern part of the state.

In 1837 and 1838, the Cherokee Indians were removed from their homes in Georgia, North Carolina and Tennessee to Indian Territory by the United States government. In the latter year several thousand were sent by a route which crossed Illinois from Golconda to the Mississippi opposite Cape Girardeau. Due to the severity of the weather, the crossing was one of hardship, and the episode a tragic one.

A number of communities in Southern Illinois plan to mark the camp sites of the Indians. Professor George W. Smith, Carbondale, and J. G. Mulcaster, Makanda, are making historical investigations of the subject, and would be glad to hear from anyone who has material, traditional or documentary, relating to the Indian removal.

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It is with no little pleasure that the Secretary announces the admission of the following new members for the year 1933:

Milburn P. Akers .....	Springfield
Lawrence T. Allen.....	Danville
Philip G. Auchampaugh.....	Duluth, Minn.
Esther M. Barton .....	Dixon
J. Frank Bennett.....	Dixon
Byron B. Bilderback .....	Danville
Valentine Bjorkman.....	Newark, N. J.
Ellsworth Black .....	Jacksonville
Robert O. Calvert .....	Chicago
Theodore S. Charney .....	Chicago
*Walter Frederick Dickinson..	Jerico, Long Island, N. Y.
Dorothy Dodd .....	Dixon
Ernest E. East.....	Peoria
George Ehlhardt .....	Canton, Mo.
Otto Eisenschiml .....	Chicago
Norman G. Flagg .....	Moro
Helen K. Forbes.....	Oak Park

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\*Life member.

# HISTORICAL NEWS

Mrs. Harrison E. Foster.....	Springfield
Frances Shimer Junior College.....	Mt. Carroll
Rev. Gilbert Garraghan .....	Chicago
Anatol Gollos.....	Chicago
Mrs. C. S. Goodknight.....	Honolulu, Hawaii
Gertrude Goodnight .....	Madison, Wis.
C. T. B. Goodspeed.....	Chicago
Virginia Hainsfurther .....	Winchester
William P. Hall.....	Upper Darby, Pa.
David W. Hazen.....	Portland, Ore.
Lena Herndon .....	Springfield
A. W. Heskett.....	Danville
C. E. Jenks.....	E. St. Louis
William S. Johnston.....	Chicago
A. Fred Kabana.....	Chicago
H. W. Lackey .....	Chicago
*John Charles Lewe .....	Chicago
Nettie Lindsay .....	Decatur
Paul S. Little.....	Drexel Hill, Pa.
Frank J. Loesch.....	Chicago
Mrs. Alvin Mason.....	Sandoval
Richard McLean .....	Springfield
Harold I. Meyer.....	Chicago
Alvin Nebelsick .....	Belleville
C. A. Norman .....	Chicago
Fordyce Parker .....	Mt. Vernon
W. K. Parker.....	Dix
B. J. Palmer .....	Davenport, Ia.
C. H. Pearson.....	Danville
Morris A. Penter.....	San Diego, Cal.
A. Scott Petersen.....	Chicago
Carl Harold Peterson.....	Chicago
Stuart A. Ralston .....	Rockford
J. Henri Ripstra .....	Chicago
J. B. Ruyle .....	Champaign



H. K. Sage .....	Clarksdale, Miss.
William E. Salomon, Jr.....	Urbana
J. Clinton Searle.....	Rock Island
Tryggve A. Siqueland .....	Chicago
Alfred Whital Stern.....	Highland Park
Jewell F. Stevens.....	Chicago
Colton E. Storm .....	Oak Park
W. B. Strang .....	Roodhouse
Benjamin P. Thomas.....	Springfield
Grace Cabot Toler .....	Mounds
Mrs. John W. Tweed .....	Sparta
Arnold Ward .....	Danville
R. S. Wilkins.....	Worcester, Mass.

Within the past few months the Secretary has been notified of the death of the following members of the Society: Mrs. I. A. Irwin, Springfield; Everett L. Millard, Chicago; Alice Orendorff, Springfield; George W. Paullin, Evanston; Thomas Rees, Springfield; Mrs. James A. Rose, Paducah, Ky.; Mrs. Ella Hume Taylor, Geneseo.

To record the deaths of members is always a difficult duty, but one performs it with especial reluctance when the names of a bibliophile like George W. Paullin and a director of the Society, Thomas Rees, must be included.

## CONTRIBUTORS

George Fort Milton is editor and publisher of the Chattanooga News, Chattanooga, Tenn. For four years he has been working on a biography of Stephen A. Douglas. He is the first investigator to be given access to the voluminous Douglas papers. Paul Rich was graduated from the DuQuoin High School last year. He lives in DuQuoin. Otto B. Engelmann is a son of Adolph Engelmann, whose Mexican War letters are printed in this issue.

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